THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

BRITISH WEST INDIES.

BY

BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ. F.R.S. S.A.

WITH

A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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WITH MAPS AND PLATES.

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HAVING brought to a close the history of the downfal of the slave-trade, it is now necessary to turn back for a while, in order to complete the narrative of legislative proceedings, by giving a

rapid sketch of those discussions which occurred, on subjects connected with the welfare of our West India colonies, and with the military operations which were undertaken for the purpose of defending those colonies, or of adding to their number.

The first debate of this kind had its rise in a proclamation, which was issued by Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jarvis, on the conquest of Martinico. During the debate, in 1795, on Mr. Wilberforce's motion for abolishing the slave-trade, some of the defenders of the traffic threw out so many insinuations, against what they considered as the arbitrary and oppressive conduct of the British commanders, that Mr. Grey animadverted with much bitterness upon the speakers, and loudly demanded a full enquiry, which he pledged himself should not be eluded, as many other enquiries had been. Those who were hostile to the two officers, accepted his challenge, but they, nevertheless, suffered more than two months to elapse, before they gave any signs of their readiness to appear in the field. At length, on the second of May, 1795, Mr. Barham, with the declared purpose of founding on them a subsequent investigation, moved for papers relative to the conduct of the British general and admiral, towards the French in the West India islands, after they had submitted themselves to the victorious troops. The papers

were granted, after an animated conversation, in the course of which the friends of the accused parties bestowed much censure on the unfair manner in which their opponents had acted. The question rested for nearly another month, at the expiration of which period Mr. Thellusson moved that the affidavit of a Mr. Malespine should be received; but his motion was negatived, though Mr. Grey acceded to it; pledging himself, at the same time, to prove that the affidavit was a gross and scandalous perjury, which was worthy of, and would, perhaps, be visited by, condign punishment.

Mr. Barham made his motion on the second of June. Having cleared his ground by vindicating his own motives, and repelling the charge of delay, he proceeded to expatiate upon the importance of the business to which he was now calling the attention of the House. To the transactions of which he complained he attributed all our present disasters in the West Indies. He contended, that the second proclamation, which was issued by the commanders, was a general confiscation of every thing that the inhabitants possessed; and that, even supposing the islands to have been taken, as they were falsely said to have been, by storm, the measure subsequently adopted by the victorious officers was unjust to the colonists, and illegal in itself. But the fact was, that no obstinate resistance was made, the

reduction of Martinico having been completed in twenty-eight days, with the loss of only eighty men. It was asserted that the proclamations had never been acted upon, an assertion, the truth of which he denied; and that they had been annulled, by orders from home. The rescinding of such acts in a private manner was, however, not sufficient, and he, therefore, moved an address to his Majesty, for a public disavowal of them.

In reply, Mr. Grey maintained, with much warmth, that the conduct of the commanders was not in the smallest degree reprehensible, and that the proclamations, and the facts of the case, had been grossly and wilfully misrepresented. The law of conquest, he said, had not been pushed beyond the mitigated practice of modern times. There was no sweeping confiscation of property; nothing, in reality, having been touched except the produce and stores which had been packed up for exportation previously to the twenty-fifth of March. It had been denied, that the white colonists were aware of the danger of resistance, but this denial Mr. Grey proved to be erroneous, and shewed that they had been fully warned of that which they were to expect. It had been denied, also, that they made a desperate opposition; but, in answer to this, he proved that every step of ground was obstinately defended, by the whites, and by the whites alone, the

negroes and mulattoes not having taken that hostile part which Mr. Malespine had falsely sworn that they took against us. The conquest, he said, was more than six weeks in being accomplished, and was not achieved without the loss of between three and four hundred men. As to the obnoxious proclamation, what necessity was there for any censure upon it, even granting, which ought not to be granted, that it was worthy of censure? It had never been put in force; the commanders having annulled it, as soon as they found that it was likely to occasion discontent. The motion, then, was useless at best, and designed for no other purpose than to wound the feelings, and tarnish the fame, of two meritorious and successful officers.

Mr. Dundas followed, in a strain of equal severity, and concluded by moving three resolutions, negativing the motion of Mr. Barham, and approving of the conduct of the two commanders. This gave rise to a long debate, at the close of which the resolutions were carried by a large majority.

Three days subsequently to this decision upon the merits of the living, the House of Commons paid a proper respect to the dead, by voting the erection of a monument in St. Paul's, to the memory of General Dundas, whose remains, as the reader has seen in the third volume, were treated in so brutal a manner, at Guadaloupe, by

the ferocious and despicable barbarian, Victor Hugues.

There was only one other subject, relative to the colonies, which produced any debate during this session. The desolating of the islands of St. Vincent's and Grenada, by the insurrections which have been mentioned in the history of the war, had the natural effect of embarrassing severely many of the merchants who were connected with those colonies. In this emergency they petitioned the Parliament to relieve them by a loan, to the amount of a million and a half, in exchequer bills. Their petition was referred to a Committee, by which it was favourably reported upon. The measure of affording relief in this mode was censured by Mr. Fox, as giving to the ministers an irresistible influence over the whole of the commercial interest, and being thereby dangerous to the constitution of the country. It must be owned that, in this objection, sound reason was on the side of Mr. Fox. The opposition did not confine their remarks to this point. They entered into a discussion, on the disasters which had been sustained in the West Indies, all of which, they contended, had arisen from the negligence and incapacity of the ministers, who had neither furnished sufficient forces, nor dispatched them at a proper time. These charges the ministers, of course, affirmed to be unfounded; and there, for the present, the matter

was suffered to rest. The bill, authorizing the loan, was passed without a division.

The precedent of the government affording relief being thus established, it was speedily acted upon. In the year 1799, the merchants of Liverpool and Lancaster applied for a loan of half a million, in exchequer bills, on good security being given for the repayment of the money. This application was made by Colonel Gascoyne, and was supported by Mr. Bryan Edwards and Mr. Pitt. It was urged that the petitioners had immense quantities of sugar on hand, for which they must immediately pay nearly a million in duty and freight; that the foreign market was closed against it; and that it would be politic to give some assistance to the merchants, in order to prevent the price of the commodity from sinking in such a manner as would certainly prove ruinous to them, and to the colonial proprietors. For some aid, it was said, they had an undoubted right to look to the Parliament, the present glut of sugar at home having been caused by an act in which they had no share; an act of the government, by which it had been hoped to make foreigners pay a part of the duty, that had used to be withdrawn upon exportation: a plan which, though wise in itself, had been defeated by unforeseen circumstances. Denying that the latter cause had produced the effect now attributed to it, Mr. Pitt, nevertheless, declared his intention

of allowing the drawback for a certain time, or until sugars were at a certain price. To the granting of the loan he gave his cordial assent. Mr. Tierney and Mr. Yorke were hostile to the measure. It was, however, carried in the committee without a division, and a bill to authorize it was subsequently passed.

This was not the last time that the subject of these loans gave rise to debate in the House of Commons. Adverse circumstances having prevented the Grenada merchants from repaying the whole of the money which they had borrowed, they were more than once under the necessity of applying to the legislature to sanction a further delay. An application of this kind, in the year 1803, was heard by many of the members with much dissatisfaction, and they did not fail to express their sentiments with considerable force. The request of the merchants was, however, granted.

After having, at every opportunity which occurred, severely animadverted upon the misconduct which had been displayed in the management of the war, and particularly upon that part of it which was carried on in the West Indies, the opposition determined to bring the subject once more, in a regular form, under the consideration of Parliament. Mr. Sheridan was the person by whom the task was undertaken. It was not, however, till late in the session of

1796, that he came forward to move for the papers, on which he meant to substantiate his charge against the ministers. The debate on the propriety of granting the papers was more than once adjourned, and language of much asperity was used by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Francis, and General Tarleton, on the one side, and Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and some of their supporters, on the other. The ministers were unsparingly accused of having manifested nothing but imbecility and culpable negligence in the whole of their military proceedings. Their expeditions to the West Indies, it was said, had been uniformly of insufficient strength, while the forces, whose presence there would have ensured victory, had been employed upon impracticable projects; those expeditions, too, had been dispatched at improper seasons, as if purposely to expose them to the fury of the elements; fit occasions of sending reinforcements had been allowed to pass by unregarded; no attention whatever had been paid to the health of the soldiers, either in the transports or abroad, the consequence of which neglect had been a dreadful mortality; and thus the safety of the British West Indies had been put to the hazard, and a heavy disgrace had been thrown upon our military reputation. Instead of sweeping, by prompt and decisive measures, our despised enemy from his colonies, those who held the reins of govern-

ment in this country had suffered him to assume the character of an invader, and to ravage a part of our own colonies, and to prey upon our colonial commerce, with almost perfect impunity. While the ministers had in their hands all the resources of a mighty empire, was it, the opposition asked, was it to be borne, that thousands of lives and millions of treasure should be lavished, in the melancholy purchase of disaster and shame? No! the business was one which, on the face of it, called for enquiry, and they hoped that the house, for the sake of its own credit, would not fail to enter upon a thorough investigation.

The principal share in the defence of the ministers fell to the lot of Mr. Dundas, an advocate never deficient in boldness. He denied that the force originally employed was inadequate to its object, and that he or his colleagues had ever neglected to provide, to the full extent of their means, for the health or the comfort of the troops. It had not, he said, been in the power of the government to make greater exertions than those which they had made. The ministers had, on the contrary, strained every nerve to put our army in the western islands on a formidable footing; and, in proof that they had done so, he referred copiously to documents and dates. The disasters which had occurred were undoubtedly great, and much to be lamented, but they were, he contended, of a kind which could not have

been warded off, or even foreseen, by human wisdom. There was, in short, not the shadow of a pretext for the accusatory motion with which the ministers were now threatened by their uncandid opponents.

Some of the papers were, at length, granted; many others were refused, the impolicy of producing them being pleaded as the cause of the refusal. On those which were laid upon the table no proceeding was ultimately adopted: for, though Mr. Sheridan gave notice of a motion, he had not time to bring it forward, a dissolution of the Parliament having taken place before the period which he had fixed for his motion.

To the Maroons, the war against whom has been narrated in the first volume, the attention of Parliament was twice called; once in the session of 1796, and again in that of 1798. The employment of the blood hounds, to track them in their recesses, gave rise to the first debate. The subject was introduced by General Macleod, who moved an address to his Majesty, to lay before the House whatever dispatches had been received respecting the mode of carrying on the war against the Maroons. He considered the use of the dogs as being a blot on the national character, and shocking to humanity; and in this opinion he was warmly joined by several members. The motion was opposed by Mr. Dundas, and by others, on the ground that the

general had no better authority for making it, than an unauthenticated private letter; that the Maroons were a faithless and murderous race; that, even supposing the dogs to have been used, they had not been used for the purpose of destruction, but merely of discovering the haunts of the enemy; and that it was not to be imagined that the government would permit any of its agents to act in an inhuman manner.

These arguments were by no means satisfactory to the members of the other side, who persisted in maintaining that the Maroons were a much-injured people, and that it was disgraceful to us to call in to the assistance of our soldiers such auxiliaries as blood hounds. General Macleod, nevertheless, finally consented to withdraw his motion.

Offended by the mention of his name in the debate, the Earl of Balcarras, the governor of Jamaica, published, in the Gazette of that island, a letter which reflected upon the general, and this produced an angry correspondence between them, which, however, did not lead to any disagreeable result.

The transportation of the Maroons to Nova Scotia was the occasion of the notice of Parliament being again called to them. The subject was taken up by General Walpole, by whom the treaty, in 1795, was concluded, and who now moved that the House should resolve itself into

a committee, to examine the circumstances of the negociation, and of the subsequent departure from the terms of that treaty. Indignant at the idea of having, as he expressed himself, been made an instrument to dupe and entrap the Maroons, he censured, with much asperity of language, the manner in which the Assembly of Jamaica had acted, and he contended that the Maroons had been basely and perfidiously treated. They had, he said, observed every article faithfully, and had been made the victims of the pride and jealousy of the Assembly, by which unworthy body of men they had been banished to a cold, inhospitable climate, without the slightest attention having been paid to their remonstrances and intreaties, or to his own offer of giving satisfactory evidence in their favour.

It was affirmed, on the other side, by Mr. Dundas, Mr. Barham, and Mr. Sewell, that the Maroons, by their obstinately holding out beyond the period fixed for their surrender, had forfeited all claim to be entitled to the terms of the treaty; that the step which the Assembly had taken was an act of prudence, which circumstances rendered necessary; that every thing that was possible had been done for the comfort of the Maroons in their new place of residence; that the known humanity of Sir John Wentworth, the governor of Nova Scotia, was a sufficient guarantee that they would be treated with the utmost kindness;

and that, in point of fact, they were at present more happily situated than they had been when they were living in the mountains of Jamaica. The House admitted the validity of this reasoning, and the motion was in consequence negatived, by thirty-four noes against only five ayes.

The retention of that repository of pestilence, the island of St. Domingo, was the next subject of complaint with the party in opposition. On the eighteenth of May, 1797, a motion was made by Mr. St. John, that "an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to give directions that the troops in St. Domingo should forthwith be withdrawn. Mr. Fox was the seconder of this motion.

Severely censuring the conduct of the war in every part of the world, Mr. St. John especially reprobated our trans-Atlantic operations, as having been marked by a series of the grossest blunders. Look at the subject, he said, in whatever point of view we would, it was impossible to find any thing like a vindication of the proceedings of the ministers. Those who thought the re-establishment of the French monarchy to be essentially necessary, and here he referred to the published opinion of Mr. Burke, must look with disgust upon distant expeditions, as a waste of that strength which might be employed nearer home, in a more

effectual manner. Those who considered the conquest of colonies to be proper, must dissent from the mode in which it had been attempted to accomplish that object. But as to St. Domingo, there never had been a hope of reducing it under our authority, defended as it was by twenty-five thousand men, besides forty thousand revolted negroes. Yet, on this desperate enterprise we had squandered several millions of money, and, what was still worse, the lives of several thousands of our bravest soldiers. To counterbalance all this loss, we were not, he said, in possession of a single advantage; as, notwithstanding our possession of Cape Nicholas Mole, the privateers of the enemy committed incessant depredations upon our trade, and we did not receive any imports from that fragment of the colony which, at such a vast expense, we still retained. On these grounds, he trusted that the House would adopt the address which he now proposed to it.

As usual on such occasions, Mr. Dundas was the ministerial champion. His first attempt was to overthrow the opinion expressed by Mr. Burke, and this part of his speech was discreditable to its author, as its language could be attributed only to gross sophistry, or to a degree of ignorance which was disgraceful in a statesman. Confounding entirely times and circumstances, he laid it down as a principle, that a war against France must be a colonial one; that no other

kind of war could be a wise one; that the war of 1756 having been glorious, this must be more so; and that consequently he was justified in ridiculing what he was pleased, with his accustomed hardihood, to call, "the new-fangled ideas of peace and war, which he sometimes heard broached." He had forgotten that his colleagues had truly represented this to be a war essentially differing in its nature from any of those in which we had formerly been engaged; and that we had never, till now, had allies in the bosom of the hostile country imploring our aid. The opposition did not receive better treatment than Mr. Burke at the hands of Mr. Dundas. He brought against them a charge of inconsistency, because at one period they had accused him of neglecting the colonies, and on the contrary, they now censured him for paying too exclusive an attention to them. The defence of the retention of St. Domingo he rested, partly on the value of the island to France, but principally on the ground that our keeping possession of the colony was the best mode of securing the safety of Jamaica, which would be put to the hazard were St. Domingo in the power of the enemy, especially while the revolted negroes were in arms. Should the latter obtain the ascendency, he considered the property of Jamaica as scarcely worth a single year's purchase. That there was a great mortality, he confessed; but he hoped that it

would cease; nor could he agree that troops ought not to be sent to a place where the climate was deleterious. As to the expense it would, in future, not be more than three hundred thousand pounds annually; against which sum was to be set off the revenue derived from the colony, which, notwithstanding what had been asserted, was not insignificant, the produce of our part of the colony having been to the value of a million and a half in the year 1796, and given employment to no less than four hundred vessels.

The charge of inconsistency called forth a masterly refutation from Mr. Fox. He and his friends had, he said, insisted, and they were still of the same opinion, that, if colonial conquests ought to be made, the force entrusted to Sir Charles Grey was inadequate to its purpose. But what contradiction was there between this idea, and the idea that nothing ought to have been attempted against St. Domingo? Then, turning the tables upon the accusers of his party, he forcibly contended that the folly of having acted inconsistently belonged to them alone. They had admitted the justice of Mr. Burke's principle as to the nature of the war, and that being once admitted, his reasoning was unanswerable; yet, in their mode of carrying on the war, they had acted in direct opposition to that very principle. Certainly, as far as regarded the re-establishment of the French monarchy,

the reduction of all the French colonies was of no utility whatever. The government, it appeared, had not policy enough either to adopt or reject wholly the system of Mr. Burke. They adopted it so far as to rouse all France to arms, but not so far as to make it the leading object of the war, though it was only by pursuing the latter course that there was any chance of a beneficial result.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Bryan Edwards, who, nevertheless, thought that the plan which had been pursued was an erroneous one, and that our force ought to be concentrated for the protection of those colonies which were yet sound and untainted. It was more elaborately objected to by Dr. Laurence, on the ground that, though we ought, at the beginning of the war, to have devoted our military force to higher purposes, it would, at this moment, be impolitic to relinquish acquisitions, which would give us weight in a negotiation, and which enabled us now to hold somewhat in check the republican cruizers in the West Indian seas. It would also, he urged, be disgraceful to fly from St. Domingo, as the measure would be looked upon merely as an indirect compliance with the enemy's doctrine of treating on the basis of their laws and constitution, and especially as it would deliver up to the fury of a remorseless foe, those planters who had

thrown themselves into our arms in the hope of receiving an efficient protection.

The motion of Mr. St. John was finally negatived by a hundred and sixteen voices against thirty-one.

In the third book of this history,* it has been shewn, in what a dishonourable manner the grant of the duties called the four and a half per cent. Leeward Island duties, was extorted from the fears and the weakness of the Barbadians, by that base and profligate monarch, the second Charles. It has also been shewn there, that many of the conditions of the grant were never performed by those in whose favour it was made; the Barbadians having been compelled to pay the duties, without receiving even the very inadequate compensation for which they stipulated in return. The fund thus obtained, and the mode of disposing of it, had, however, long remained unnoticed in Parliament, and would, in all probability, have remained so still longer, had not a pension, payable from this fund, been given, towards the close of the year 1794, to Mr. Burke. This was a circumstance which, considering the bitterness of the politics of that period, was not likely to escape the lynx-eyed vigilance, nor the heavy censure, of the party in opposition. It did not escape; it formed the basis of a motion, in the House of Peers, by the Earl of Lauderdale, on the fourth of March, 1796.

* Vol. I. p. 330.

The motion of his Lordship was, that an address be presented to his Majesty, praying him to give orders that the four and a half per cent. duties, arising in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, be applied to the repairing and erecting of fortifications, and other public uses, for the safety of the said islands.

On this occasion only two Peers took part in the debate, if debate it may be called. The Earl of Lauderdale was on the one side, and Lord Grenville on the other. It was contended, by the noble mover, that the fund was granted for the defence and fortification of the islands, that this use of it had been solemnly recognized by Parliament itself, that any application of it to other purposes was a manifest abuse, and that, the ministers having applied it in an improper manner, it was necessary, by a solemn vote of the House, to prevent a repetition of such illegal conduct. In reply to this, it was asserted, by Lord Grenville, that the per centage was originally given for the express use of the crown, and as an acknowledgment of a right which belonged to the crown, that the particular instance, which had been alluded to, of the interference of Parliament, proved nothing against the royal rights, that pensions had always been granted out of this fund, and that, consequently, there was no pretext for consenting to the motion which was now brought forward. The Earl of Lauderdale

maintained, in answer, that Lord Grenville had mis-stated some of the facts, and mis-applied others, and that the arguments upon which the motion was founded, were unshaken by any thing which had been urged against them. The motion was, however, negatived by a large majority; there being only six Peers in its favour, while against it there were forty-two.

After this decision the question of the Leeward Island duties slept for fifteen years. In 1812, Mr. Creevey again brought the subject forward. His object was the same as that which had, so many years before, been avowed by Lord Lauderdale, namely, to apply the produce of the duties to the defence of the colonies. But his reasoning was lost upon the House of Commons, and a negative was, of course, put upon his proposal, for the appointment of a committee.

During the continuance of the first war with France, little more, that calls for notice, passed with respect to the West Indian colonies. One measure has already been alluded to, which, though it passed unopposed, was in a short time productive of important effects. This was the reduction, made in the session of 1796, and again in that of 1799, of a part of the drawback previously allowed on the exportation of sugar; a step which was taken under the erroneous idea that, as foreigners could not do without sugar, and

as they must procure it from England, they might be made to bear a portion of the duties with which the commodity was burthened. But it was soon discovered that the reasoning which had led to the adoption of the measure was fallacious, and that the comparatively trifling saving which was made by the lessening of the drawback was heavily counterbalanced, by the diminished sale of sugar, and the consequent distresses of the colonial proprietors.

In the last year of the war, Sir William Scott brought into the Commons' House a bill, for the better regulation of prize courts in our trans-Atlantic possessions, the chief purpose of which was, to limit the number to three courts, sitting at Jamaica, Martinico, and Halifax, of which the judges were to be selected from the English bar. The measure on the whole was generally approved of by the House; but to a clause, which enacted that on retiring the judges should have pensions for life, an objection was started, on the ground of its having a tendency to increase the influence of the crown. The validity of the objection was admitted, and the clause was modified. The judges were to be allowed a salary of two thousand a year, during their continuance in office, and half that sum annually, after their resignation, provided they had served for a certain period.

The peace, which was concluded in a few

months after the passing of this act, was severely censured in Parliament, by many eminent statesmen, and their censure fell with scarcely less weight upon that part of the conditions which related to the West Indies than upon that part which related to Europe. It was repeatedly objected, in strong terms, that the ministers had restored to France far more than they ought, and that they had been culpably negligent on two essential points, one of which was the putting beyond dispute the right of cutting logwood at Honduras, the other, the securing to the British settlers the property which they had vested, to an enormous amount, in the conquered colonies.

While this subject was under discussion, a fresh subject of complaint arose, in the sailing of a large French fleet and a powerful army, to St. Domingo; a circumstance which the opponents of the ministers considered as being fraught with peril to our colonies, in case the French ruler should be perfidiously disposed, and, at all events, with expense to the country, and with alarm to the colonists. By the ministers, on the contrary, it was asserted that there was no cause to doubt the pacific feelings of the French ruler, and that it was politic to allow him to put down the negro republic; which could not exist without endangering the safety of our own possessions. Mr. Addington, in particular, designated the black government as an usurpation, and declared that the

ministers would not have been justified had they prevented the sailing of the armament. Little, however, can rationally be urged in favour of that policy which, between the signing of the preliminaries and the conclusion of the definitive treaty, permitted the First Consul to send to the West Indies so formidable an expedition as that which he dispatched to St. Domingo. Had the negotiations been abruptly broken off between the two states, before the French army was worn down by the climate and the contest with the blacks, the consequences might have been fatal to our colonies in the west. That a British naval force was sent to that quarter is true; but a naval force has not always been found a sufficient protection from the enterprises of an active and intelligent invader.

Though that which had been feared did not happen, yet one disagreeable consequence did actually result to us from this expedition. It widened the breach which already existed between the government of the parent country and the colonists of Jamaica. The colonists had some solid causes of complaint; and they believed themselves to have still more, for among their grievances they enumerated the struggles which had so long been made for the abolition of the traffic in slaves. Setting aside, however, their imaginary wrongs, it may be proper to give a brief sketch of those which had a real existence.

The first of the well-founded reasons for the discontent of the planters of Jamaica, was the conduct of the British ministry, in pertinaciously thrusting upon them a black force, in spite of their fears, their remonstrances, and even of their willingness to leave no pretext for the employing of such a force. It has, in a preceding part of this volume, been seen that, in order to avert the threatened evil of being compelled to receive negro regiments, the Assembly consented to provide for the pay and subsistence of two thousand white troops, and that the necessary vote was accordingly passed. Notwithstanding this, however, the ministry would not relinquish their favourite scheme. In direct violation of at least an implied compact, they actually sent to Jamaica the second West India regiment. It must be owned that, on this occasion, the alarm of the planters was by no means a childish one. The presence of an army of negroes, comparatively free, filled with all the pride of their profession, in the midst of a slave population, and therefore a degraded one, cannot, on many accounts, be otherwise than dangerous to the safety of the white proprietors. Even had the planters not been exposed to the more serious peril of a general revolt, there was something sufficiently appalling in the idea that many of the disciplined negroes might escape into the fastnesses of the interior, and there gather round them new and

more formidable bands of Maroons, to spread terror and havoc through the surrounding estates. Jamaica was but too well acquainted with the losses and sufferings which were inflicted by a Maroon war, and naturally dreaded the repetition of such a misfortune. Yet the repetition was not improbable. Some of the black troops had deserted, and there was no reason to hope that they would not make a full use of all their powers of mischief, whether natural or acquired. The assembly was keenly alive to all these circumstances, and it repeatedly and urgently prayed to the British government, to be relieved from the sight of men whom it could not consider in any other light than that of enemies in disguise. The government, however, was obstinately deaf upon this momentous subject.

The next theme of complaint with the colonists was the excessive taxation of their commodities, by which they were absolutely deprived of the means of making any profit on their capitals. As if sugar and rum were articles which had an inherent power of resisting the effect of heavy imposts, the ministers continued to make additions to the duties upon them, while by diminishing the drawback upon sugar, they in a great measure shut it out from the foreign market. It was also urged that, at the same time, they admitted to an impolitic and even destructive competition the sugar of the East,

which was manufactured under none of the disadvantages of that which was imported from the West. The Jamaica planters stated, and they supported their statement by documents, that they were not in a condition to bear the heavy burthens which were heaped upon them with so little thought, or so little mercy. They pleaded that their estates were in general deeply mortgaged, that their outgoings were heavy, that their profits were always precarious, and that those profits had progressively sunk lower and lower, till they had at length become insufficient to furnish the means of existence, while upon the article of rum there was a positive and severe loss. Nothing less than ruin stared them, they said, in the face, unless some relief were afforded to them. All this, however, was unavailing to relax the close grasp of fiscal avidity. The ministers seem to have thought it quite enough to reply, that the colonists had no reason to murmur, their trade having always been a favoured and often a gainful one, and that the duties did not fall upon the planter, but solely upon the persons who consumed his produce. Than this last assertion, a more wretched sophism, or rather misrepresentation, for it does not rise to the rank of a sophism, cannot well be imagined. While the consumption remains undiminished by taxation, it is obvious that the tax falls upon the consumer of the article; but, the moment that a tax raises the price above

the means or the inclination of the consumer, it is equally obvious that the tax operates as a prohibition, and falls with a deadly weight upon the manufacturer of the prohibited article, and upon him alone.

While such were the feelings and the situation of the planters, it is not to be supposed that they could, with any degree of patience, listen to a proposal of making a still further drain upon finances which were already in so exhausted a state. The proposal was, however, made. Let us now see on what grounds it was made.

From the period when a military force was first stationed in Jamaica, the people of that island had, as a free gift, provided additional subsistence, barracks, and hospital allowances for the troops. In the year 1773, the Council and Assembly pledged themselves to provide, thenceforth, such additional subsistence for any force, not exceeding three thousand men, which might be sent for their protection. This pledge they more than redeemed. When, in 1791, the disturbances broke out in St. Domingo, the planters were so greatly alarmed by them, that they applied to the government at home for an increase in the number of the troops by which Jamaica was guarded. The increase for which they prayed was, however, not granted to them without a stipulation that they should be charged with whatever expense might be incurred by this

measure, beyond that of the regular peace establishment. With this condition the fears of the planters induced them, at length, to comply; they, at the same time, asserting, in an address to his Majesty, their constitutional right to equal protection with any part of the British empire, and believing that the necessity for this augmentation of the stationary force would speedily cease to exist. Affairs rested in this situation till 1797, when the dread of the black regiments induced the Assembly to make that offer, which has before been mentioned, of maintaining two thousand white troops, at the sole expense of the colony. But the black troops having been subsequently sent to Jamaica, the Assembly was, of course, released from the performance of its share of the compact into which it had entered. It now remains to be shown what use was made of these precedents, of which two were inapplicable, and two were flagrantly unjust.

On the 17th of June, 1802, the lieutenant-governor of Jamaica sent down a message to the Assembly, in which he called upon it to take on itself the whole expense of maintaining the military force, not exceeding five thousand men, for the defence of the island. In order to render more palatable this strange demand, he promised that the British government would withdraw the black regiment, and consent that in future no corps of that description should be introduced

into Jamaica, without the concurrence of the House. He also informed the Assembly that it would no longer have to provide for the twentieth regiment of dragoons, one of those which were furnished in 1791, and which was now to be recalled; and he argued that as the House, at a much less critical moment than the present, had agreed to pay two thousand additional troops, it could not reasonably object to take upon itself the payment of the five thousand men which his message required. A hope was held out, that, at some period or other, an opportunity would be afforded of diminishing the number of the troops, in consequence of "the restoration of good order and subordination in the French islands." The "immense debt contracted by the mother country," and "the absolute necessity of her resorting to some extraordinary means to enable her to support her increased naval and military establishments," were the reasons which the lieutenant-governor assigned for making this startling call upon the Jamaica planters.

Whether this message was received with most surprise or anger it would, perhaps, be difficult to say. The House answered it by a positive refusal to comply with the demand, and it reviewed, at considerable length, and with no small share of asperity, the conduct which the British ministry had for some years pursued towards the colonists of Jamaica. It denied that

the twentieth regiment of dragoons, the withdrawing of which was now held up as an act of favour, was ever intended to be a permanent charge upon the island, and it spake of the agreement, respecting the two thousand men, as having been originally obtained by ungenerous means, and subsequently annulled, by the violation of its conditions on the part of the ministers. Founding upon "constitutional right and justice" its refusal to grant the supplies for the five thousand men, it added that, even did it possess the will, it had not the power to comply, and it proceeded to justify this assertion, by drawing a melancholy picture of the burthens and grievances under which the colony was at this moment labouring; among which it enumerated "the ruinous and oppressive duties," and the prohibition of exporting, in American vessels, any of the staple productions of the island, except rum and molasses. An attempt to soften the language of this answer was negatived by twenty-four voices against six, and the answer was then voted in its original form.

Four days after the sending of his first message, the governor sent a second, requesting to be entrusted with the control of the barrack department, and to be allowed to raise a corps of artificers. Here again he was unsuccessful. The House was not in a mood to yield any thing which it had the power to retain; and it accordingly replied, that

the season was too far advanced to enter upon the discussion of such an important subject, and that it was desirous to postpone, till the ensuing session, the consideration of the governor's request. This was carried by fifteen voices against eleven.

The ministers seem to have been exceedingly disconcerted by their defeat. They, nevertheless, returned to the charge. In his dispatch to the lieutenant-governor, Lord Hobart laid it down as a principle, that the island of Jamaica did "not contribute its full proportion to the general expenses of the empire;" from which he deduced, as a consequence, that the inhabitants were not justified in refusing to make provision for the pay and subsistence of the troops. He relied on the precedents of 1791 and 1797, to prove the fact that the colonists had always been expected to provide for whatever force, beyond the regular establishment, might be required for their protection; and, with respect to the compact of 1797, he added, that the government had only "dissolved it," and not violated it, as had been inadvertently stated by the Assembly." Hoping, perhaps, that a more moderate demand than the former one would find grace in the sight of the Assembly, his lordship now instructed the lieutenant-governor to ask for the pay and subsistence of only three thousand men, and he assigned as a reason for thus lowering his demand,

" the events which had lately taken place at St. Domingo, the reduction in the army on that island, and the return of the French squadron from that station to Europe." This language, it should be remembered, was held by one of those very ministers who had considered, or affected to consider, the ascendancy of the blacks in St. Domingo as so alarming an evil, that it was advisable to get rid of it at the hazard of allowing an immense French armament to sail to the West Indies, before the negociation was even commenced for a definitive treaty. Yet, now, the wasting away of the French army, and the success of the blacks, were represented as contributing to the security of Jamaica. The dispatch concluded with a threat which, to say the least of it, was grossly impolitic. The Assembly was told that, if it would lend its concurrence to the new proposal, the second West India regiment should be removed; but that otherwise " the intention of removing the black troops must be laid aside."

It was not till the close of November, 1803, that this dispatch was communicated to the House by the lieutenant-governor. The message which accompanied it was obviously intended as an appeal to their feelings of pride and patriotism. The House, however, was not to be seduced by smooth words. It showed as strong a dislike to the present scheme as it had shewn to the scheme

of the preceding year. Denying that it did not contribute its full share to the expenses of the empire, and standing firmly upon its constitutional claim to equal protection, which claim it declared that it would never relinquish nor compromise, it positively refused to make any provision beyond that which it had been accustomed to make. The sum which it voted, in the year 1802, for the troops on the island establishment, including 20,000*l.* to the commander in chief, the Assembly stated at 210,000*l.* being more than ten times the charge at the commencement of the American war; and it declared that as large a sum would be necessary for the following year, which alone would be equal to an annual poll-tax of thirteen shillings. This, too, at a period when, for four years, the planters had had nearly their whole income torn from them by the operation of duties which were pretended to fall upon the consumer, but which left nothing to the grower for labour or capital.

The House then proceeded forcibly to retrace all the grievances of which it had complained on the former occasion, and it added to them the circumstance of being called upon to bear fresh and intolerable burthens, at the moment when measures were adopting to relieve the inhabitants of the mother country from some portion of the weight of their imposts. The past and present conduct of the ministers was again forcibly ani-

madverted upon, a brief but emphatic notice was taken of "the doctrine of dissolving a compact at the pleasure of one of the contracting parties," a doctrine which was justly described as being destructive of all confidence, and most alarming to the weaker side," and a proper censure was bestowed on the threat of keeping the black regiment in Jamaica, which the House, and with reason, regarded as an unworthy attempt to overawe it into such a decision as would be pleasing to the government. This answer to the governor's message was agreed to by the House of Assembly without a single dissentient voice.

The House had scarcely dismissed this subject before its attention was called to another of a similar kind. The French garrisons which surrendered at St. Domingo had been conveyed to Jamaica; a step which was certainly not taken with any view of benefiting or conciliating the colonists. On the ground that the admiral was restrained by his instructions from hiring transports, the lieutenant-governor now applied to the House of Assembly, to vote a sum of money to enable him to procure the vessels which were necessary to carry the prisoners to Europe. The sum required was about fifty thousand pounds; but, as the number of the captives was soon after nearly doubled, the whole of the expense could scarcely have been less than a hundred thousand pounds. Though the House was in no small

degree alarmed by the presence of a body of French troops, twice as strong as the British force then in the island, it refused to vote any part of the money which was demanded, and it accompanied its refusal with a request that the governor would use all the means in his power for the speedy removal of these dangerous inmates. . .

Irritated by his want of success, the lieutenant-governor, on his proroguing the Assembly, gave vent to his feelings, in a manner which could not fail of exciting anger and disgust in those whom he addressed. After having petulantly expressed his regret that the members of the Assembly had not given him an opportunity of thanking them for the supplies which were wanted for their own defence, he still more offensively expressed his hope that, upon maturer consideration, they "would feel the propriety of supporting government in the most effectual manner at their next meeting, and thereby restore to themselves its fullest confidence in their loyalty and patriotism." In this language there was something so insulting, and so unjust, that it would, indeed, have been wonderful, had the House allowed it to be used with perfect impunity.

The House did not allow it to be so used. That body met again, towards the end of the year 1804, and one of its first proceedings was the ap-

pointment of a committee, to take the speech into consideration, and to search for precedents. The report of the committee was a firm yet temperate composition. It declared the speech to be an unprecedented and alarming breach of privilege; and it recommended the passing of a series of resolutions, vindicating the aspersed character of the Assembly, stating the large sums which had been granted, and branding as unconstitutional the conduct of the governor. The report was approved of, and the resolutions were adopted.

In the contest respecting the supplies the Assembly was victorious. Fresh subjects, however, of complaint and dispute arose, even before the old ones had ceased to exist. Either with a design to punish the colonists for being refractory, or compelled by the pressure of financial wants, the British ministers proposed and obtained a large increase of those duties, on rum and sugar, which the colonists represented as being already intolerable. In 1803, an additional duty of four shillings a hundred was laid upon sugar, and, in the following year, the customs were raised twelve and a half per cent, which measure operated, of course, as a further and considerable tax upon every article of West Indian produce. The planters and their agents called meetings, and passed resolutions; they petitioned, memorialized and remonstrated; but all their

efforts were exerted in vain, not the slightest diminution being made of the burthens which they bore. The House of Assembly itself was not more successful, though an elaborate report, drawn up by one of its committees, fully established the fact, that the most pernicious consequences had arisen to the planters, from the heavy duties imposed upon their produce, and from the recent impolitic encouragement which had been given to sugar manufactured in our oriental possessions. On this occasion, heavy censure of the attempt to abolish the slave-trade held a prominent place in the report; and it is not improbable that, in the minds of many persons, the introduction of it excited a prejudice against those parts of the report which were really deserving of deliberate attention.

So much on the alert, and it must be owned so wisely, was the House with respect to its privileges, that a bill framed by the Board of Trade having been sent out, for the purpose of being proposed to the Colonial Legislature, the Assembly refused to receive it. In a resolution which it came to, the House declared that "any attempt by that Board or any other to direct or influence the proceedings of the House in matters of internal regulation, by any previous proposition or decision on what is referred to or under their consideration and deliberation, is an interference with the appropriate functions of the

House, which it is their bounden duty never to submit to."

At the moment when the Assembly thus spiritedly vindicated its rights, its attention was also occupied by a subject of the utmost importance. This subject was nothing less than the suspension of that intercourse with the American states, which had hitherto been permitted to the West-India islands, and by means of which alone they were furnished with the supplies which were in fact essential to their very existence. Almost since the commencement of the war, in 1793, the British shipping owners had relinquished the carrying trade of lumber and provisions, and employed their vessels in a more gainful manner. The natural consequence of this was, that the governors of the colonies were under the necessity of dispensing with the observance of the navigation laws, and permitting the supply of lumber and provisions to be imported into the islands in neutral vessels. For this plainly-compelled, and indeed meritorious, breach of the law, they had been regularly indemnified, till the year 1801, by acts of the British legislature, by which time the breach of the law had grown so completely into a custom, that even acts of indemnity seem to have been considered as wholly unnecessary.

In the year 1804, however, a sudden change took place. This has been attributed to the re-

presentations of the Britsh ship-owners, whose vessels were no longer fully employed in other branches of commerce, and who, therefore, became anxious to recover that carrying trade which they had so long neglected. A cry was in consequence raised against the illegality and impolicy of admitting the Americans to enjoy those advantages which, of right, belonged only to British subjects. It was not wonderful that such clamours should be favourably listened to by the ministers, whose measures had been so roughly censured, and whose plans had been foiled, by the West Indian colonists. Another pretext was also brought forward, to justify the step which it was resolved to take. It was said that the Americans smuggled into the colonies, to a great extent, a variety of articles, especially German linens, and the productions of the East, to the serious injury of the manufactures and commerce of the mother country. To put an end to this prejudicial intercourse was, therefore, only an act of justice to the parent state.

In pursuance of this new system, instructions were sent out to the governors of the islands, forbidding them, "except in cases of real and very great necessity," to open the ports for the admission of such articles from the American states as were not allowed to be imported by law. These instructions were carried into effect by the lieutenant-governor of Jamaica, on the twenty-first

of November, 1804, on which day he publicly notified that, after the expiration of six months, a stop must be put to the neutral trade. Alarmed beyond measure by this unexpected proceeding, the Assembly addressed the lieutenant-governor; stating the fatal consequences which must inevitably result from shutting up the ports, there being no means of obtaining sustenance for the slaves, or even for his Majesty's forces, without a continuance of that intercourse which was about to be destroyed. He was therefore entreated to recal his order, until the Assembly had had an opportunity of representing to his Majesty the destruction which was impending over their properties and lives.

In reply to this, the governor expressed his regret that the imperative nature of his instructions prevented him from complying with the wish of the House; and he recommended to the representatives to lay the case of their constituents before his Majesty without delay, that an answer might be obtained before the time arrived at which his order was to commence its operation.

The House of Assembly lost not a moment in following this advice. It petitioned his Majesty, on the subject of its previous grievances, and addressed him with respect to this new and fertile source of calamity. In humble but earnest language, the framers of the address repeated and strengthened the arguments which they had

urged to the governor, adding that, in a period of war, it was impossible to procure British ships and British seamen to carry on the trade, or for the British northern colonies at any time to furnish the supplies, and they declared their full reliance that his Majesty, being informed of their real situation, would avert from them the ruinous and fatal consequences which were inseparable from the scheme of closing their ports against neutral vessels.

Affairs remained in this state till the latter end of April, when, no redress having been given, and the time being near at hand when the ports were to be closed, the Assembly addressed to the lieutenant-governor a long memorial, accompanied by documents, in the hope of inducing him to grant a suspension of his order. The House seems clearly to have proved, that a similar interruption of intercourse had formerly been productive of the most deplorable evils to the planters, and of death to fifteen thousand negroes, and that there was every reason to fear that the same effects would now arise from the same causes. It was stated, in this paper, that to prevent the absolute ruin of Jamaica, 456 additional British vessels, navigated by 2862 seamen, must immediately enter into the American trade. This memorial, respectful in style, and cogent in argument, was of no avail; the lieutenant-governor replying that the strictness of his

instructions was such that he had nothing left but to yield to them an implicit obedience.

At length, however, the lieutenant-governor seems to have perceived the existence of that "real and very great necessity," which was requisite to justify him in departing from the rigid letter of the ministerial mandate. On the day previous to that on which the ports were to be closed, he issued a proclamation, extending the term for six months; but he restricted the imports to flour, corn, corn meal, bread, rice, pease, beans, and lumber of every description. Salt beef and pork and salted fish were excluded by this proclamation, and as they were indispensable articles of subsistence, they being the correctives of the vegetable diet of the negroes, the House once more addressed the governor, and, for once, with success. It was answered that, since the appearance of the French squadron had occasioned martial law to be proclaimed, the custom-house officers had been instructed to admit salted provisions, and that it was hoped that all apprehensions on that score would be quieted by the speedy arrival of the fleet from Cork.

Here ended the dispute, and it will presently be seen that steps were taken at home to prevent a recurrence of it. In the Leeward Islands all had, in the mean time, remained in a state of tranquillity. For this they were indebted to the prudence of their governor, Lord Lavington,

who conceiving "a real and very great necessity" to be in existence, wisely permitted the importation of supplies from the American continent.

The extraction of the shaft, says a great Italian poet, does not heal the wound. The contest with respect to some of the disputed points was now over, but the feelings of irritation which it had excited did not immediately subside. Besides, there still existed other causes of complaint, which were of equal importance. The Assembly continued to murmur, that the colony was subjected to a load of taxation which it was unable to bear; and, while this was yet rankling in its mind, it received intelligence that the abolition act had at length received the sanction of every branch of the British legislature. This last event speedily provoked from the House a report, and a series of resolutions, drawn up in a tone of half-suppressed anger and open despondence, in which all the grievances and sufferings of the island were enumerated, and hints were thrown out that, as the planters of Jamaica had wantonly and unconstitutionally been deprived of the means of bearing the burdens imposed upon them, the mother country must, after the present year, cease to expect any further grants for the subsistence of the troops. So strong was, in various parts, the language of this paper as almost to raise a sus-

picion that it was rather the want of power than of will, which kept the planters from resorting to something more forcible than words, for the assertion of what they were pleased to consider as their violated rights.

Before these feelings of resentment had had time to die away, they were stimulated into increased action, by an event which took place in the year 1808, and of which the particulars are recorded in the next chapter of this volume. During the mutiny, of which that chapter makes mention, two officers were killed by the mutinous negroes. No coroner's inquest having been held on the bodies, the House of Assembly, on its meeting in 1809, requested the Duke of Manchester, the governor, to furnish it with copies of the military proceedings which had taken place with respect to the offenders. This request was communicated to the commander-in-chief, who, however, not only refused to comply with it, but also prohibited all military persons from replying to any questions which might be put to them by the House. Fired by this insult, the House passed a resolution, asserting its right to examine all persons and papers; and it issued a warrant, requiring the commander-in-chief to attend at its bar, to answer for a breach of privilege. The commander-in-chief set the warrant at defiance, and the governor approved of his conduct. Determined not to abate a tittle of its

claims, the Assembly issued a second warrant, to take the commander-in-chief into custody for contempt, censured the governor for the part which he had taken, and resolved to proceed to no business till a proper reparation had been made for the breach of its privileges. In this resolution it persisted with firmness. The governor was no less immovable, and the result was that he, at length, found himself under the necessity of proroguing the House of Assembly. A considerable ferment was caused in the island, by this unusual and decisive measure.

This dispute, however, died away, without producing any further consequences, and it may, in fact, be said to be the last which took place between the governor and the legislature of Jamaica. An attempt was indeed made in the year 1811, to refuse the supplies to the troops, but the dissentient party was out-voted. Since that period, little or nothing of any moment has occurred, except the general alarm which was excited by the Slave Registry Act, a subject which has already been touched upon, in one of the preceding chapters.

The attention of the British ministry and legislature was, at length, seriously turned to the distresses of the West Indian colonists. As famine was the worst evil which the colonists could encounter, the first step to be taken was to prevent the possibility of its occurring. No sooner,

therefore, did the party of Mr. Fox come into office than a circular letter was dispatched to the colonial governors, instructing them to continue the accustomed intercourse with America, and promising that the usual act of indemnity should be brought into parliament. At the same time, as no such act had passed since the year 1801, the governors were indemnified by the legislature for their past proceedings.

The compulsion of admitting American vessels into the West-India ports, in time of war, being considered as evident, the ministers deemed it improper that the practice should remain any longer in its present anomalous situation. For thirteen years the governors of the colonies had been exercising the dangerous power of dispensing with the observance of those laws which it was their duty to maintain. It is true, that the most imperious of all necessities had compelled them to exercise that power; but their conduct, though meritorious, was not, in strictness, the less illegal. To the ministers it appeared that, if a discretionary power must somewhere exist, and that it must so exist could scarcely be denied, it would be acting more wisely to place it in the hands of the crown, than to suffer it to remain with the governors, by whom it could not be used without a breach of the law. There is, indeed, much of impolicy, in habituating men to look upon the laws as trifling obstacles,

which may, without hesitation, be set aside, whenever they chance to stand in the way of convenience, or of interest.

It was with a view of putting an end to this unequal and pernicious contest, between the wants of the colonists and the laws of the country, that, in 1806, a bill was introduced into the British legislature. The bill, after stating the necessity of occasionally admitting neutrals into the colonial ports, and the expedience of providing for the admission of them in a legal manner, empowered his Majesty in council to authorize, under such restrictions as might seem needful, the governors of the colonies to permit the trade to be carried on; with this proviso, however, that neutrals should import no commodities, lumber and staves excepted, which were not the growth and produce of their own countries, and that they should not export from the colonies any sugar, indigo, cotton, coffee or cocoa.

This bill, apparently simple and just as its enactments were, was opposed with a degree of hostility scarcely less determined than that which, many years before, as may be seen in the fourth chapter of the sixth book of this history, was manifested against the plan of allowing the West Indies to benefit by supplies from the American states. It was first brought into the Lords, and it passed through the House, after having encountered a formidable resistance; but, when it

came into the Commons, an informality was discovered, by which a new bill was rendered necessary. The corrected bill was brought in by Lord Temple.

Now began the tug of war, the bill being strenuously resisted in all its stages. Against the bill were arrayed, among others, Mr. Percival, Mr. Canning, Lord Castlereagh, Sir Charles Price, Sir William Curtis, and Mr. Rose; the latter gentleman taking the most prominent part in the debate. On the side of it were Mr. Fox, Lord Temple, Lord Henry Petty, Sir Francis Baring, Dr. Laurence, Sir John Newport, and the attorney-general.

It was urged against the measure that it was, in the first place, unnecessary, as, unless the government meant uniformly to authorize importation, the discretionary power of the governors must still exist; to which it was added, that the colonial governors must have better means than the privy council of judging of the wants of the colonies, and that the eagerness of the ministers to get this new authority into their hands, and the manner in which they were evidently disposed to use it, were good reasons why that authority should not be granted. Even the illegality of the existing system was pleaded as an argument in its favour, it being contended that the governors would not, without obvious

necessity, resort to a step which was confessedly illegal.

The moment, too, of bringing in the bill was said to be ill chosen, as America would be induced to look upon the proceeding as a mark of fear; she having recently passed an act, giving the president the power of shutting the ports, in case this country should refuse to offer satisfaction upon certain points.

It was roundly affirmed that this bill gave a death blow to the navigation laws, which laws had hitherto been held sacred, and that, those laws being our naval palladium, the consequences of destroying them could not be otherwise than fatal to our maritime greatness. On this head a profusion of declamatory language and melancholy forebodings was poured forth by some of the speakers, and especially by the master of the rolls, who, certainly not inspired by the spirit of candour, went so far as to say, that the bill contained a meaning, and had an object, which its framers did not think fit to disclose to the Parliament.

Time, it was said, ought, at all events, to be granted for a committee to inquire into this important subject; and, if a committee were allowed to be appointed, Mr. Rose, somewhat rashly, pledged himself to prove that the British ship-owners were adequate and anxious to carry on the trade, to the fullest needful extent, and

not only to supply the islands with the means of subsistence, but also of bringing home the whole of the colonial produce, at an extra expense of not more than two per cent. upon the freight. The preference given to the Americans had, he was of opinion, been exceedingly mischievous to our maritime prosperity, and to the cultivation of our northern colonies; and to continue it would be still more so; besides which our manufactures and revenue would materially suffer, by the clandestine introduction of German and East-Indian goods into the islands, and the export trade of Ireland would be diminished, in consequence of the United States being able to furnish beef and pork at a much cheaper rate.

It was asserted, in reply, that all that had been adduced against the bill was rather cavils and conjectures than solid argument. For thirteen years it had been found to be impossible to support the colonies without an almost perpetual violation of the law, in throwing open the ports. The bill under consideration repealed no statute; it subverted no principle; it merely purposed to allow the king in council to do that legally, which the governors in the West Indies must otherwise do illegally. It was denied that any one advantage could arise from leaving, as heretofore, an unlimited discretionary power in the hands of the colonial governors. In cases of sudden necessity, they must doubtless continue to act as

they had for so many years acted; but it would be the duty of ministers to keep a vigilant eye upon the situation of the colonies, and to prevent, as far as human foresight could prevent, the occurrence of any such cases. According to the common course of things, it would be beneficial to the shipping owners to lodge in the privy council the power which was asked for, as the council would certainly be desirous to favour, as much as possible, the interest of the owners, while, on the contrary, the governors, being besieged by interested persons, and ignorant of the state and capabilities of the trade at home, might, by hastily opening the ports, enable the Americans to anticipate the supplies from England, and thus inflict a serious injury upon the British merchants, by rendering useless the whole of their outfit. This reasoning was further enforced, and the assertion that the Irish provision trade would be reduced was victoriously refuted, by the testimony of Sir John Newport, who stated that the persons engaged in that trade had been consulted upon the subject of the bill, and their answer was, that they should embark in the trade with infinitely more spirit and confidence than formerly, because they could speculate with greater security, if they knew that it would be governed by the privy council.

The idea that America would construe the measure into a proof of fear was looked upon as

a downright chimera. That power, it was said, had never even hinted at so monstrous and extravagant a claim, as the annulment of our navigation act. Nor, as some seemed to dread, would the passing of this act make known to her any secret respecting the situation of our colonies; she being already quite aware that the produce of her soil was necessary to their existence. If, however, she were disposed to put a conciliatory construction upon the promoting of an intercourse with her, that circumstance ought rather to be a motive for the bill, than an objection to it.

That this was an unprecedented act, was affirmed to be an assertion which, to say the least of it, was erroneous; there being numerous precedents, with which the objectors ought to be well acquainted, they themselves being the persons by whom those precedents were furnished. Nor was there the slightest ground for the heavy lamentations which had been uttered, as to the certainty of the navigation laws being destroyed by this measure. On the contrary, as the measure would contribute to the prosperity of our West Indian possessions, from which we derived so large a portion of our naval strength, it was manifestly in unison with the spirit of those laws; they having been enacted for the sole purpose of increasing our maritime power.

The danger from smuggling was declared to be extravagantly exaggerated, if not wholly ima-

ginary. Even supposing it to exist, the Americans were not the only traders by whom it was likely to be caused. British ship-masters could engage in smuggling as readily as American. Such an argument, therefore, tended to put a stop to all intercourse. But was it seriously meant to be said, that the West Indies must be exposed to ruin, in order to prevent the chance of their receiving clandestinely some articles of East-India produce, and some German linens?

That in time of war, especially of a war like that in which the country was engaged, the supply of the West Indies could be accomplished by the shipping owners, was considered as an assertion which had for many years been contradicted by the positive evidence of facts. Was the House willing to encourage the projects of the shipping interest, at the risk, nay, at almost the certainty of producing the same terrible effects which had been experienced in a former instance, when in the island of Jamaica alone, fifteen thousand negroes died of absolute want, or from being improperly fed? How did it happen, that the owners had only just now discovered their capability of carrying on a trade which they had so long abandoned? Why was their alarm so much excited by a bill which, in fact, authorised the council to prevent the freedom of the American trade, whenever it could be prevented with safety to the colonies? Could they not, at any moment, apply to the

privy council, and show their ability to engross the trade, in which case they could have no reason to doubt of a favourable decision? Time was asked for, that a committee might enquire into the subject, but the matter had already been fully debated; and, besides, if the complainants were so ready with their proofs, as they were affirmed to be, how had it chanced, that they had declined to avail themselves of permission to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House? Delay appeared to be the sole object of the clamour for enquiry.

The bill was at length passed by the Commons, and sent up to the Lords. In the latter House it was opposed by the Lords Hawkesbury and Eldon, but was finally carried through and received the royal sanction.

As the distresses of the colonists were becoming every day less supportable, it was necessary that the Parliament should take some steps for the purpose of alleviating them. There were now in the warehouses of the British ports between a hundred and fifty and a hundred and sixty thousand hogsheads of sugar, for which no purchasers could be found. In this case, the readiest means of assisting the planters seemed to be, to allow, as far as was consistent with other interests, the use of sugar and molasses in the distilleries and breweries. Accordingly, at the close of the year 1806, Lord Temple moved for a committee to investigate the subject, and his

motion was agreed to. In the mean time, something was done for the benefit of the colonists, by giving an increase of bounty upon the exportation of sugars, and by imposing an additional duty on brandy and such other foreign spirits as were imported for home consumption.

The dissolution of the parliament put an end to the committee which Lord Temple had obtained. In the new parliament, however, a committee was appointed, to take into consideration the commercial state of the West-India colonies. In its first report it fully established the fact, that, in consequence of the heavy duties, and the rivalship of neutrals, the latter being a result of the former, the West-India planters were tottering on the brink of ruin. "At length the depression of the market," said the report, "has become such, that the prices obtained for the last year's crop will not pay the expense of cultivation, except upon estates on a very great scale, making sugar of a very superior quality, or enjoying other extraordinary advantages." The expense of a hogshead of sugar to the planter was stated to be from thirty-five to thirty-six shillings, while from the average prices in the Gazette, for the last eight months, it appeared that the average selling prices had been from thirty-one to thirty-six shillings; giving a mean price of thirty three shillings and sixpence, and irrefragably proving that the planters had cultivated their

estates at a heavy loss. Some diminution of duty, an increase of bounty on export, the encouragement of the consumption of rum, and, above all, a restriction of the trade between neutrals and the enemy's colonies, were the remedies suggested for averting the ruin which, it was said, unless speedy and efficient measures of relief were adopted, would inevitably fall upon the planters, and, through them, upon all that numerous class which derived its means of existence from colonial property.

It is obvious that these measures could not be productive of any immediate benefit to the planters, because they could not create an immediate market for the surplus produce, already enormous, and daily increasing in quantity. The situation of the planters, however, required that something should be done without delay. Mr. Perceval seems to have felt this, and accordingly, early in the year 1808, he moved for a committee, to enquire how far it might be practicable and expedient to confine the distilleries of the United Kingdom to the use of sugar and molasses only; and also what other provision might be made for the relief of the growers of sugar in the British West-India colonies.

After a long and laborious examination of evidence, the committee presented four reports to the House. At the very outset the committee ascertained that the distress was "as urgent as it

was severe," that it was continually growing greater, and that there was no prospect of it being put an end to without legislative interference. The first report was wholly dedicated to the subject of distillation from sugar, and it recommended the restriction for England and Scotland, but not for Ireland, there being circumstances which rendered it not advisable to extend the plan to the latter country. In order to prevent any injury to the British agricultural interests, it was suggested that if, in pursuance of this report, any bill were brought into parliament, it ought to contain a clause, granting to the King in council the power of removing the suspension, and permitting the distilleries to carry on their trade in the accustomed manner.

The other reports recommended the probibition of foreign spirits during the war, or at least a heavy increase of duty upon them; the granting of permission to the colonists to barter sugar and coffee with the Americans for the supplies which were furnished by the latter people; the adoption of stronger measures to interrupt the intercourse between the enemy's colonies and the United States; and a reduction of the prohibitory duties on the importation of refined sugar, by which means the loss from drainage, amounting to one-eighth during the voyage, would be saved, the expense of freight would undergo a proportionable diminution, and the planter would gain the

materials for manufacturing nearly three gallons of rum from every hundred weight of sugar which he refined. The prohibition of refining their sugars, to which the planters were subjected, was justly described as an oppressive and unjust one, which it would be wise to do away with, even at the cost of compensating the British refiners for whatever injury they might thereby sustain. In conclusion, a hint was thrown out, that sugar might perhaps, be usefully employed in the fattening of cattle, in which case it might be proper to allow a drawback on the quantity so employed; but this was left for future consideration, a sufficient number of experiments not having yet been made to enable the committee to form a correct judgment.

A bill for materially reducing the duty on coffee was at that moment before the House, and therefore the committee did not think it necessary to say more upon that head, than to give a decided opinion in favour of the measure, as being, for many reasons, a measure of sound policy. One great advantage of it was stated to be, its having a tendency to add to the security of the islands, "by increasing the number of that middling class of white settlers, upon whom their defence so greatly depends." The bill was passed in the course of the session. One great effect of it has been, to spread through every rank of people the use of a salutary beverage, prepared from

an article cultivated by our fellow subjects; and in so far, at once to relieve those whom we ought to regard with brotherly feelings, and to render us less tributary to the most insolent and worthless nation which is any where to be found throughout the wide extent of the continent of Asia.

Looking at the peculiar circumstances in which the country was placed, with respect to its supply of grain, it would seem that, setting aside all consideration of the benefit of the West-India planters, the substitution of sugar for corn in the distilleries could scarcely fail to be regarded as a politic measure. Great Britain, from being an extensive exporter of grain, had become so large an importer, that she had long been dependent upon other countries for an average annual supply of 770,000 quarters, a state of things which, in various ways, had, but too manifestly, a prejudicial effect. At this period, in particular, the prospects of the country, as to that article of subsistence which has emphatically been called the staff of life, were by no means of a pleasing kind. There was no surplus on hand, but rather an absolute deficiency to be feared, the future crops held forth no promise of abundance, and America, one of our main resources, had sealed her ports by an embargo, which there was little reason to hope would be speedily removed. Thus situated, it behoved England to economize as

much as possible; and, as the distilleries consumed yearly 470,000 quarters of grain, it appeared to be a step dictated by common sense to convert this quantity into food, instead of converting it into a moral and physical poison; the more especially as other materials for making the poison were at hand, and might be employed with infinite advantage to a numerous and meritorious class of British subjects. In this case it did seem that no party would be injured; and that one party at least would have cause to rejoice. The farmers would sell their grain to the baker instead of to the distiller; the people would be more assured of a supply of bread; the drinkers of spirits would still enjoy their accustomed Circean cup; the West-India planters would be somewhat relieved from the heavy pressure which bent them to the earth; and the revenue, always careless of life and morals when its own interest is not at stake, would have no defalcation to fear from the drying up of that which is, unfortunately, one of the most productive of its often impure sources.

So thought the ministers, but so did not think the major part of what is denominated the agricultural interest. Among the farmers and landed proprietors a long and loud clamour was immediately raised. Had the bill, which suspended only for a short period the distillation from corn, been an act for the confiscation of their estates,

they could scarcely have attacked it with more determined fury. In the newspapers it was loaded with every term of reproach which the memory or the imagination could suggest. County meetings were called, speeches, wanting nothing but eloquence and argument, were made, and petitions were sent up to Parliament, vehemently deprecating the terrible calamity which was about to be inflicted. In the House of Commons the opposition was truly formidable. In the first instance, the motion, for going into a committee, was carried by a majority of only fourteen; there being a hundred and eight dissentient members, out of two hundred and thirty who voted. In every stage the bill had to contend against a pertinacious resistance from passion and prejudice, and in several divisions the minority was unusually numerous. The bill, nevertheless, was at length carried through both Houses; the last shaft which was discharged against it being a protest, bearing the names of the Earls of Lauderdale, Selkirk, and Suffolk, and by no means remarkable for either accuracy of reasoning, or beauty of language. In succeeding years of scarcity the bill was re-enacted, and without producing any one of those direful evils which had been so confidently predicted; as the certain consequence of its being suffered to exist.

The debates on subjects connected with the

West Indies have, since that period, been "few and far between;" nor would it much interest the reader to enter into an analysis of discussions which involved no great principle, and led to no important result. The colonial offices' bill, which was brought in by Mr. Golbourn, in the year 1814, gave occasion to one of the sharpest of these minor contests. Its declared object was "to prevent the granting in future any patent place to be exercised in any colony or plantation for any longer term than during such time as the grantee should discharge the duty in person, and behave well therein." It was, however, vigorously opposed by Mr. Creevey, and some other members of the opposition, as being, in reality, a mere delusion and cheat, intended to sanctify all abuses against a bill of reform, which was passed in the twenty-second year of his Majesty's reign. Two divisions took place, but the bill was finally agreed to by both Houses of Parliament.

COLONIAL EVENTS.

COLONIAL EVENTS.

Hurricane at St. Christopher's.—Inundation at Barbadoes.—Hurricanes at the Bahamas.—Hurricanes in 1804, 1806, 1813, 1815, 1816 *and* 1818.—*Eruption of the Souffriere.—Fires at Grenada, Montego Bay, Puerto d'España, Castries, and Port Royal.—Intended insurrection at Tobago.—Mutiny at Dominica.—Plot in Trinidad.—Mutiny at Fort Augusta.—Conspiracy frustrated in Jamaica; and in Martinico.—Maroon war in Dominica.—Insurrection in Barbadoes.*

We have now nearly arrived at the conclusion of the history of the British West Indies. Having gone through the principal divisions of the subject, there only remains to give a brief account of those remarkable occurrences which, from natural or moral causes, took place in the colonies, during the period of the last quarter of a century. This chapter, therefore, will be entirely of a miscellaneous nature; narrating, firstly, the most important of those events over which man had,

and can have, no control; and, secondly, those which were wholly occasioned by his negligence, or his crimes. To the first class belong hurricanes, inundations, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions; to the second, conflagrations, mutinies and insurrections.

Hurricanes have, at all periods, been the scourge of the greatest part of the islands of the West Indies. Desisting sometimes, for many years, from their terrific ravages, they seem, at length, to recommence them with a fury and perseverance proportioned to the duration of time which they have remained inactive. Such was the case in 1780; and such has been the case since the year 1813. In the latter instance, however, the interval of quiet which they left to the colonists was far shorter than it was in the former: in the one, it was only twelve years; in the other, it was more than twice that number of years; there being no hurricane, of any serious consequence, between the years 1744 and 1772. But it was in 1780 that the series of hurricanes commenced, which, with the exception of two seasons, spread dismay and ruin through the colonies, for the space of seven years. It will be seen, in the course of this narrative, that similar events are now occurring, and nearly in a similar order.

In August, 1793, St. Christopher's experienced a visitation of this kind, which did consi-

derable mischief both to the shipping and the plantations. Antigua was the next island which felt the fury of the elements. The hurricane came on there on the evening of the eighteenth of August, 1795, and lasted till the following morning. Some houses were blown down, several vessels in the harbour were driven on shore, and much injury was done to the country.

In the succeeding year, Barbadoes sustained a heavy loss from a rain far exceeding in violence that which accompanied the tempest of the year 1780. This rain began on the eighth of November, and fell profusely during the whole of the night. But, at seven o'clock on the next morning, it increased in such a manner, that it seemed as if the heavens had burst, and were pouring down all their weight of waters. It continued to descend thus, without a moment's intermission, for four and twenty hours; during all which time not two seconds elapsed without the most vivid flashes of lightning and tremendous peals of thunder. The gully, as it is called, which runs through Bridgetown, and falls into the sea in Carlisle bay, was quickly filled; and, meeting with a spring and flowing tide, the mass of waters carried away both the bridges, and spread into the town, where, in many places, it was five feet deep. Some of the inhabitants escaped by wading, others on horseback; even the horses being under the necessity of swimming. The

town itself would probably have been swept away had not the gully opened over the fields a new passage to the sea, for a part of its contents; in doing which it hollowed out, across the road, a gulf forty feet in width and ten or twelve in depth. The roads throughout the island were entirely broken up, and the plantations were greatly damaged, many of them, for an extent of several miles being inundated, and the negro houses and other small buildings being entirely covered.

The Bahamas next felt the fury of the devastator of the Western islands. No hurricane had occurred in the Bahamas for eight years, and the season of 1796 had passed over so favourably, that the inhabitants were induced to hope that, that year also would be as free from danger as those which had preceded it. So confident were they that this would be the case, that the coasting trade of their perilous shores was carried on without any interruptions, and without any precautions. They were, however, soon undeceived. In the afternoon of the third of October, the storm began, and it raged, with scarcely any interval, till the ensuing morning. The break of day disclosed a distressing scene. The land was covered with the marks of havoc, but the sea presented a still more shocking spectacle. Of all the ships which, on the evening before, had crowded the harbour of Nassau, only three re-

. mained afloat. The Narcissus ship of war was stranded on Long Key, the Porcupine was dismasted, numerous vessels and boats were sunk or driven ashore, and the margin of the sea was thickly strewn with wrecks of all descriptions.

But, terrible as this hurricane was, it was far less so than that which took place at Nassau on the 22d of July, 1801. The latter came on about noon, from between the east and north, with such violence, that, though their masts were struck, their anchors down, and every means was used to keep them to their moorings, the whole of the vessels in the harbour broke loose, and were driven on the strand. The masts of many of them were snapped asunder by the wind, with as much facility as if they had been composed of reeds. At three o'clock the wind veered to the castward, and the spray of the sea rose in such clouds that objects at a short distance were rendered invisible. As the tide ebbed, the wind changed to the south; but, fortunately, the town, being protected by the hills in that quarter, did not sustain as much injury as it otherwise would have sustained. Southward of fort Montague, the sea made a breach through the sand hills, and filled, to the depth of several feet, the valley to the west. At sun-set the hurricane died away; nothing of it remaining but a fresh gale. On the land the damage done in the course of a few hours was very great. At sea the amount of it

was not less than one hundred thousand pounds. Independently of the ships which were sunk, and those which were crushed by striking against each other, a hundred and twenty sail were counted at one time, lying as wrecks on the shore. It providentially happened, that the tide had ebbed before the wind went round to the south, and had thus left the vessels upon the beach. The consequences would otherwise have been of the most disastrous kind, as the whole of the ships would have been driven to sea; and, in all probability, disabled as they were, but few of them would have escaped.

Severe as these hurricanes were, the effects of them were confined to one particular spot. In 1804, a more tremendous infliction of this kind occurred, which included in its sweep all the Windward islands, though St. Christopher's was the colony where its widest ravages took place. It commenced on the fourth of September, and blew till the close of the sixth, without any pause. Antigua, St. Christopher's, Dominica, Martinico, St. Thomas, and St. Bartholomew's, all suffered in a greater or less degree. Two hundred and seventy-four vessels are said to have perished. Such was the destruction, that a ship from Surinam sailed for three days through the floating fragments of the wrecks. Nor were the horrors of the storm experienced only within the limits of the West-Indian islands. They

were felt as heavily on the coast of Carolina, on the eighth of September. At Charleston the loss sustained was to the amount of a million of dollars; and at Savannah, and many other towns and places, the devastation was nearly if not quite as extensive. Around Savannah the trees were torn up by the roots; and in the harbour, every vessel that was not buried in the waves, was thrown upon the wharfs.

Dominica had its share of this wide-spreading calamity. Two years after, however, it was the sole sufferer from a hurricane of equal fury. On the ninth of September, 1806, the sky became totally overcast; about seven in the evening the lightning began to flash, and heavy gusts of wind arose, which increased in strength till ten o'clock, when the rain poured down in torrents, and every vessel in the harbour, to the number of sixteen, was either sunk in the waves or driven ashore. The whole of the barracks on Morne Bruce, and nearly the whole of those on Morne Cabrit, were carried away, and a hundred and sixteen persons were killed or wounded. In Roseau and its vicinity a hundred and thirty-one persons, and in the estates along the coast, two hundred and ten persons shared the same fate. Every plantation on the windward coast of the island from the river Tabarie to Cape Morne Paix Bouche was nearly destroyed, and all the estates round the coast, from the river Tabarie

by the way of La Soye, received considerable damage. The plantations to leeward likewise felt in a heavy degree the ravages of the storm. Every house from the river Mahaut to Prince Rupert's was overthrown or seriously injured, and the town of Portsmouth was laid in ruins.

At Roseau the greatest mischief was done by the overflowing of the river, which inundated the town in all directions, every house which obstructed its passage being thrown down, or swept away by the torrent. "No pen," says a witness of the scene, "can paint the horrors of that dreadful night! the tremendous noise occasioned by the wind and rain—the roaring of the waters, together with the shock of an earthquake, which was sensibly felt about midnight—the shrieks of the poor sufferers crying out for assistance—the terror of those who in their houses heard them, and dared not open a door or window to give succour, and who expected momently to share the same fate, formed a scene which can hardly be conceived, and is still more difficult to be described. Fortunately for the inhabitants of the town, and, indeed, for the whole colony, the force of the wind and rain abated about three o clock in the morning, and near the same time the water began to fall; if it had continued another hour, there is not a doubt but the town would have been entirely destroyed.—The spectacle which presented itself on the return of day-

light, was horrid beyond every power of description, heaps of mud and sand, (in some places five or six feet deep) through all parts of the town—the form of a street hardly to be discerned—two large streams, or rather torrents, running through the midst of the town—ruins of houses blown down, and others brought down by the flood, obstructing every passage—the carcases of several of the unfortunate victims of this event drawn out from the ruins, and lying in the streets—while numbers, almost distracted, were searching for some near relation, or friend, who had perished in the storm—the lamentations of those who had lost some of their nearest and dearest connections, joined to the despair of those who had lost their little all, formed altogether a scene fit to draw tears from the eyes of the most unfeeling."

After this violent effort of the elements a long pause ensued. It was not till the year 1812 that the West Indies felt the scourge of a hurricane. In the October of that year, one occurred at Jamaica, which though it lasted but a short time, did extensive injury to the plantations. In 1813 the destroyer reappeared, and with increased fury. The island of Dominica was the first victim of the returned pest. The storm began on the 23d of July, shortly after daylight, and was soon at its height. The barracks and other buildings at Morne Bruce, including the hospital in which were fifty sick, were levelled with the

ground, and numbers of persons were killed and wounded by their fall, or blown over the cliffs into the sea. Those at Prince Rupert's and at Cachecrou were equally destroyed. The government house on King's hill was prostrated, with all its offices, and the governor and his family were driven into the fort for shelter. Not a public building escaped uninjured in Roseau. In all parts of the country incalculable mischief was done; houses, mills, works, canes, coffee plantations and plantain-grounds, being either wholly ruined, or severely shattered. In addition to these horrors, it was at one moment feared that the town of Roseau would suffer the same dreadful fate as that which formerly fell upon the town of Callao. On the wind veering round to the eastward and southward, the sea suddenly rose as high as the sills of the second story windows on the verge of the bay; then, thundering along, shook the houses to their foundations, and rushed up more than a hundred and fifty feet above high water mark, sweeping with it, and breaking into fragments, all the small craft which it found in its progress. Happily, however, no other damage was done than the filling of the stores and cellars with water, and the carrying away of the front walls and the pillars of the galleries. On the same day all the shipping at St. Christopher's were driven on shore, and several of them were entirely destroyed.

The Bermudas next, on the 26th of July, en

countered the pelting of the pitiless storm, which was rendered more striking by contrast, the day having opened with the most delightful coolness and serenity. The severest effect of it was felt at St. George's. It continued from twelve till five, when it paused for an hour, at the expiration of which time it recommenced, from another point of the compass, and raged till midnight, when it finally ceased. The consequences were of the most lamentable kind. In the beautiful and flourishing town of St. George's more than one-third of the houses were beaten to the ground, and all those which were left standing were injured in various degrees. Hundreds of families were reduced to beggary, by the total loss of all that they possessed. In the harbour of St. George's alone more than sixty sail of ships were stranded, and many were sunk. The damage done in the town and harbour was to the amount of not less than two hundred thousand pounds; and other parts of the island were devastated in a terrible manner. In order to afford as much relief as possible to the sufferers, sums were voted by the House of Assembly, the Chamber of Commerce, and the St. Andrew's Society, and a further addition was made by a liberal subscription among private individuals.

Jamaica did not wholly escape. On the last day of July, a hurricane blew with great violence, driving on the beach several vessels, and sinking

others, in the harbours of Kingston and Port Royal, and doing much mischief to the buildings on shore. During the storm, a shock of an earthquake was felt, which, though a severe one, was but of short duration.

Dominica had yet something more to endure, in the course of this unfortunate year. On the 25th of August, another hurricane occurred, which was attended by deluges of rain. The river speedily rose to an unwonted height, and, bursting through its banks, bore down trees and every thing else that lay in its course. It rushed into the town of Roseau in three columns, and, in a few minutes, a large part of the town was inundated to the depth of ten or twelve feet. The avenues were choaked up with trees, lumber, sand and dead fish; the streets were, in many places, ploughed up into furrows of ten or twelve feet deep; the provisions which were spared by the wind were swept away by the flood; numbers of the houses were shaken from their foundations, and some, of a less massy construction, were borne away to the sea. It was, however, a consolation, that no lives were lost in this second disaster.

In 1815 a part of Jamaica was again devastated. On this occasion, the north and north-eastern districts of the island were those which suffered. The storm occurred in October, and its effects were tremendous. The tempest was accompanied by floods of rain, more mischievous

in their action than the tempest itself. None of the oldest inhabitants had ever before seen the rivers rise to such an amazing height, or rush with such impetuous velocity. Houses, buildings, wharfs, whole fields of canes, and in many places even the land, were swept away by the torrents, which made themselves new channels, and bore down every thing before them. Many negroes were drowned, an immense quantity of stock was lost, and one-third of the sugar crop, and two-thirds of the crop of coffee, are said to have been destroyed.

A more widely-spreading hurricane exercised its destructive fury, on the 21st of October, 1817. At the same moment it swept over a space of two hundred miles, from west to east, from St. Vincent's to the north of Dominica, and wherever it passed it scattered desolation. Of the British islands, St. Lucia and Dominica were those which were the most severely injured. At the former island, houses, barracks, crops, and vessels were involved in one common ruin. The government house was one of the buildings which was blown down, and the governor, General Seymour, with many others, perished by its fall. Dominica had already been ravaged by a storm on the 15th of September, which was only inferior to that of the year 1813; and now this second infliction filled up the measure of its misfortunes. The blow was rendered more heavy

by the refusal of the governor to suspend the prohibition of opening the ports to provisions from America. The House of Assembly repeated its request, but in vain; the governor persisting in his refusal, on the ground that his orders to the contrary were imperative, and that there had not been shown a necessity sufficiently strong to justify him in violating instructions of so peremptory a kind.

Nor is the melancholy tale yet arrived at its close. Even at the moment when the writer is finishing this monotonous and gloomy narrative, intelligence is arrived that Jamaica and Dominica have again been visited by hurricanes, and that the latter island has been desolated in such a manner, as to make it necessary for the governor to grant permission to open the ports for the admission of supplies, in order to prevent famine from being added to the other sufferings of the colonists of Dominica.

From the still more terrible visitation of earthquakes no injury has, for a long period of time, been sustained by the British West-Indian islands. Shocks are, indeed, frequently felt, strong enough to spread a momentary alarm, but not strong enough to destroy. In 1797, and again in the latter end of 1811 and the beginning of 1812, they were more numerous and more powerful than usual. The former year was distinguished by that tremendous convulsion, which,

in South America, overturned and ingulphed populous cities, and almost changed the face of whole provinces. On the day after that on which the earthquake commenced in the provinces of Tacunga, Riobamba, Ambato and Quito, the effects of the subterranean commotion began to be felt in the West Indies, but particularly at St. Christopher's. The shocks were continued at intervals, never longer than a week between each, for several months, there being sometimes a hundred of them in the course of four and twenty hours. They ran, for the major part, in a direction from east to west, with an undulatory motion, and were accompanied by a rumbling noise under ground, like the murmuring of distant thunder. Some moved vertically, with sudden violence, attended by a series of abrupt explosions, each having a distinct report, similar to that of a cannon. The mighty terrestrial wave, however, exhausted all its fury upon the devoted continent, and its verge only shook, without injuring, the chain of islands.

The second instance of a series of shocks, which was in the years 1811 and 1812, was also connected with the desolation of a part of the continent. In twelve months, previously to May, 1812, more than two hundred shocks were experienced in the island of St. Vincent's. This was the prelude to the destruction which took place throughout the province of Caraccas; in

which province, on the 26th of March, 1812, the capital and more than thirty towns, with eighty thousand inhabitants, were destroyed. Some portion at least of the West Indies would probably have shared a similar fate, had not the imprisoned mischief found vent, by means of an extraordinary occurrence, which is now to be described.

Almost every island in the West Indies, particularly those of which the land is most elevated, has the vestige of a volcano, which is called by the English "The Sulphur," and by the French, "Souffriere." Those in Guadaloupe and St. Lucia occasionally, though faintly, emit flames, and throw out ashes. The Souffriere of St. Vincent's, however, is the most majestic of them all. Its altitude is three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and the crater, which is, or rather was, on its side, about two-thirds of the way to the summit, exceeded half a mile in diameter, and was between four and five hundred feet in depth. In the centre of this hollow was a conical hill, two hundred feet in diameter, and three hundred in height, the lower half of which was fringed with brushwood, shrubs and vines, while the upper was strewed with virgin sulphur. At the base of it were two small lakes; the one sulphureous and aluminous, the other pure and tasteless. From the fisures of the cone exuded a thin white smoke, occasionally tinged with a light bluish flame. This was the only mark that

subterraneous fire was still in existence on the spot; there having been no eruption for more than ninety years. Evergreens, flowers, aromatic shrubs, and many alpine plants, clothed the steep sides of the crater; and, that nothing might be wanting to render the scene perfectly romantic, it was enlivened by the singularly melodious notes of a bird, never heard in any other part of the island, and which was generally called, and as generally believed to be, invisible. From its base to nearly its apex, the mountain was covered by an exuberant growth of forest trees. The whole scenery of the place was, indeed, in the highest degree, picturesque, and was the frequent resort of those who delighted to contemplate the beauties of nature. Almost to the very hour when it was destined to undergo a sudden and wonderful change, the mountain was ascended by parties of curious visitors, who perceived no other signs of the approaching tumult, than a stronger emission of the white vapours from the fissures of the conical hill at the bottom of the crater.

At noon, however, on the 27th of April, 1812, thirty-two days after the destruction of Carraccas, a severe concussion of the earth, a tremulous noise in the air, and the bursting forth of a vast column of thick black ropy smoke from the crater, announced that the volcano had arisen from its century of repose. Volumes of sand, gritty particles of calcined earth, and favilla, darkened

the air like a cataract of rain, and covered the woods, ridges and cane-pieces, with light grey ashes, resembling snow thinly strewed with dust, which speedily destroyed every appearance of vegetation. For three days all these symptoms continued to increase. During this time the sun seemed to be in a total eclipse, the sea was discoloured, the ground bore a wintry appearance from the thick crust of fallen ashes, and the cattle were starving for want of their accustomed food. On the 30th, at noon, the column of smoke assumed a sanguine hue, rose with a livelier motion, and dilated itself more extensively, as if the volcano had nearly thrown off all its terrene obstructions. The noise became incessant, " similar to the approach of thunder still nearer and nearer, with a vibration that affected the feelings and hearing;" the Charaibs fled from their houses to the town, and the negroes from their work, and the very birds were beaten to the earth, overpowered by the sand and stones which were projected from the mountain. At length just as the day closed, the flame burst forth pyramidically from the crater. The thunder now grew deafening, and electric flashes, some like rockets, some like shells, darting in all directions, and in all forms, illumined the dense and mighty column of smoke, which, in spite of the wind, hung immoveably over the volcano. In a short time, the lava poured out on the north-

west side. It was opposed there, by the acclivity of a higher point of land, but, being driven on by fresh accessions, it ascended and surmounted the obstacle, forming the figure V in a torrent of fire, plunged over the cliff, carrying down rocks and woods in its course, and finally precipitating itself into a vast ravine, at the foot of Morne Ronde. All this while, large globular bodies of fire were exploded from the crater, which burst, and either fell back into it, or among the surrounding bushes, which were instantly in a blaze. In about four hours the torrent of lava reached the sea; and shortly after another stream descended eastward, towards Rabacca. The first earthquake which had yet been felt now shook the island. It was followed by a shower of cinders, which fell like hail for two hours, and this was succeeded by a fall of stones, mingled with fire, which continued for an hour. Many houses were set on fire, many negroes were wounded, and some were killed; but, happily, the weight of the stones bore no proportion to their magnitude, or the sufferers from them would have been still more numerous than they were. During this awful period, the cracklings and coruscations from the volcano were insufferably loud and dazzling, and, "earthquake followed earthquake almost momentarily, or rather the whole of that part of the island was in a continual state of oscillation;—not agitated by shocks, vertical or horizontal; but undulated

like water shaken in a bowl." Thus the month of May opened in the deepest gloom; the sea and the island being wrapped in sulphureous clouds and impenetrable haze. At length, in the afternoon, the eruption ceased, and the mountain sunk gradually into a solemn silence. The volcano, however, still burned; and on the ninth of June, it again gave alarming signs of activity; but nothing more occurred than the throwing up of a quantity of stones and ashes, which fell back into the abyss whence they came.

All the former beauty of the Souffriere was, of course, obliterated. The conical mount disappeared, and an extensive lake of boiling water, whose agitated waves perpetually threw up vast quantities of black sand, supplied its place, new craters were formed to the north-east and south-west of the original crater, and the face of the mountain was entirely changed; the ascent, where it was formerly rugged and precipitous, being made level and easy, by the filling up of ravines and the removal of rocks. The Wallihou and Rabacca rivers were destroyed, their beds being filled up by the floods of melted lava. It was at first feared that the island would be rendered barren by the ashes which lay on its surface to a considerable depth; but it does not appear that they were ultimately productive of any injurious effect. Barbadoes notwithstanding its distance, was also covered to the depth of

five inches with the same substance; and its inhabitants, on the last day of the eruption, were terrified by the coming on of such utter darkness that they were unable to perceive their hands when they held them up to their faces. This darkness continued of the same intensity for four hours and a half, and then slowly decreased.

From disasters arising out of the order of nature, and eventually, perhaps, beneficial in their consequences, we must now turn to those which are brought by man upon himself, and which unlike natural disasters, seldom allow him to draw from them, in the end, the consoling reflection that present good has arisen from past evil. In the latter class of evils, conflagrations hold an eminent place.

The first event of this kind, which comes within the scope of this work occurred in Grenada, on the 15th of May; 1792. It broke out in the Carenage, just as the evening gun was fired from Richmond heights. A slight explosion announced it, which was followed by the bursting forth of a large column of fire from the roof of a house belonging to Messrs Stott and Tate. Though assistance was promptly obtained, yet, the houses being chiefly of wood, dried by the intense heat of the climate, and the place where the fire began being unfortunately to windward, the flames spread with an inconceivable rapidity. They extended their ravages for two hundred yards,

till they were brought to a stand by the pulling down of a wooden building, and the obstacle which was opposed to them by a stone one. Unfortunately, the wind now veered round, and directed the fire to the other side of the way, which, notwithstanding the street was between twenty, and thirty yards wide, was instantly in a blaze. Here the destruction was equal, and though several houses were blown up to arrest the flames, they continued their devouring course, till they were at length stopped by the stone-work of the gaol. The damages on this occasion was immense; large quantities of property having been destroyed, and many thousand pounds worth of cotton, rum, and other colonial articles tumbled into the sea, the shore of which, on the preceding morning, appeared as if strewed with wrecks by a tremendous storm.

Montego Bay, in Jamaica, was the next place which suffered by a calamity of this kind. In the beginning of June, 1795, a fire broke out in North Street. It was occasioned by the sparks which flew from a forge among the straw of some packages. With such fury did it rage that, in a very short time, it extended itself in every direction, involving Harbour Street, North Street, West Street, South Street, the wharfs, and part of Market Street, in one common ruin. Nor could it be checked but by the blowing up of the Court house, and several other buildings.

So swiftly did the flames spread through the narrow streets, and so intolerable was the heat of them, that three engines out of four were abandoned by the workmen, who were unable to remove them. One hundred and ten of the best houses in the town were levelled with the ground. A hundred and fifty-five hogsheads and fifteen tierces of sugar, a hundred puncheons of rum, and an incalculable quantity of plantation stores, were either burnt on the wharf, or lost by being precipitated into the sea. The pecuniary injury which was done was estimated at not less than between three and four hundred thousand pounds.

A liberal subscription was immediately raised for the sufferers by the colonists of Jamaica. The inhabitants, also, wisely availed themselves of this opportunity to improve their town. They widened and straightened some of the streets, opened new ones, and took the proper steps for the promoting of health and safety. Montego Bay arose more flourishing and beautiful from out of its ashes, and it remained uninjured till the month of June, 1808, when it was again threatened with destruction by the hostile element. A fire broke out, in the centre of Church Street, which consumed nearly the whole of that street, and of Market Street, with part of Cornwall and other streets. By dint of exertion, however, aided by the improvements which had been made,

it was put a stop to, before it had spread desolation as widely as on the first occasion. The damage done was, nevertheless, considerable; the greatest part of the goods recently imported having been lost in the flames.

In the same year, the town of Puerto d'Espana, in the island of Trinidad, was likewise burned to the ground; an event which has been already narrated in one of the preceding chapters of these volumes.

Castries, the capital of St. Lucia, was equally unfortunate. The conflagration commenced on the night of the sixth of April, 1813, in a small negro hut, on the north side of the town. It unluckily happened, that the wind blew so strong from that quarter, that it was impossible to stop the progress of the flames, or even to save more than a very small portion of the property of the inhabitants. Castries was, in a short time, reduced to a heap of smoking ruins.

Jamaica was the scene of the last event of this kind which remains to be noticed. In no part of the West Indies is there a town which, during a long course of years, has been so singularly unfortunate as that of Port Royal. Earthquakes, hurricanes and fires have combined to reduce it from a state of wealth and splendour to a state of comparative insignificance. The latest infliction of this kind which it sustained was from a fire, on the 13th of July, 1815, which broke

out in a negro yard in Cannon Street, and quickly communicated to the surrounding buildings. The wind was high, and, in about half an hour, the burning materials having been wafted in all directions, the town was in flames in several parts. The conflagration raged for several hours; nor did it cease till it had nearly demolished this ill-fated place. The dock yard was saved, though with extreme difficulty. This, the fort, the barracks, the hospital, the church, and a few houses, were all of Port Royal that escaped from the devastating flames. Greatly to their honour, the merchants and planters of Jamaica lost not a moment in setting on foot a subscription for the relief of the sufferers, and it was filled with spirit and liberality, the sum subscribed at Kingston alone, in only five days, falling little short of eleven thousand pounds.

To contemplate the calamities which arise from physical causes is, no doubt, a painful task; but it is a still more painful one to contemplate those evils which have their origin in moral causes. In witnessing, or in meditating upon, hurricanes, earthquakes, or conflagrations, there is nothing which inspires a humiliating idea, nothing which makes man turn with disgust from his fellow man; such scenes, on the contrary, are calculated at once to soften and to elevate the mind, and to link the human race more closely together by the ties of sympathy: but

the sight, or the narrative, of mutinies and civil slaughter gives birth only to emotions of doubt, or anger, or abhorrence, and compels man, which ever party he may espouse, to regard some portion or other of his fellow-creatures with feelings of a contemptuous or of a revengeful kind. To subjects of the latter ungrateful nature our attention must, however, now be directed.

It has already been mentioned, in the description of the newly ceded colonies, that, a short time previously to the peace of Amiens, an insurrection was on the point of breaking out in the island of Tobago. This insurrection was intended to take place on the night of Christmas, 1801, and the signal was to be the setting fire to the canes nearest to the dwelling-house of each estate. It was hoped that the appearance of the flames would induce the whites to hasten to the spot, and that they might then be murdered with little difficulty. The carnage was designed to extend not only to the planters, but also to such of the negroes as refused to join the standard of revolt. The intended insurgents were several thousands in number, while all the force which Brigadier-general Carmichael could muster did not exceed two hundred soldiers. Luckily he obtained a knowledge of the plot, just when it was on the point of being carried into execution, and his presence of mind enabled him to frustrate the plans of the conspirators without danger, and

without any shocking effusion of human blood. Having seized thirty of the ringleaders, he ordered one of them to be hanged at daybreak the next morning, on the signal staff, and the body to be thirty times lowered and re-elevated, a signal gun being fired at each elevation. The insurgents, who at a distance witnessed the execution, were thus led to believe that one of their chiefs perished at each fresh raising of the body; and the salutary effect of this belief was, that, supposing themselves to be left without a leader, they surrendered or dispersed. For his firmness and wisdom on this occasion, Brigadier-general Carmichael deservedly received the thanks of the colonial legislature, together with the gift of a sword.

Not so bloodless was the result of a mutiny which, a few months subsequently to this event, occurred at Prince Rupert's in Dominica. This mutiny broke out on the ninth of April, 1802, and, on many accounts, excited the most serious alarm, not only in the colony where it happened, but likewise in the neighbouring islands. It was entered into by the whole of the eighth West-India regiment; one of those regiments which consisted entirely of blacks. No previous complaints had, it seems, been made by any of the individuals which composed it; but it was subsequently ascertained that the grievances, which they alleged as the cause of their revolt, were

some deficiency in their food, some delay in the issuing of their pay, their having been employed to collect wood for the benefit, as they imagined, of their officers, and, still more, their having been ordered to drain a morass, which latter occupation would, they feared, be exceedingly toilsome, and a work of time. It is probable, however, that all this would not have been sufficient to stimulate them to the desperate measure of a mutiny, had they not been further irritated by a false and wicked report that they were to be sold for slaves. On those who practically knew what it was to be slaves, and what it was to be free, such a report could not fail to be productive of a terrible effect. It was a lighted match to a charged mine.

The explosion burst forth by the mutineers falling upon their officers, the majority of whom they murdered in the most barbarous manner, only two of them being spared. It was not till the next day that the news of this catastrophe was received at Roseau. The governor, Colonel Cochrane Johnstone, instantly collected all the militia and regulars who were at hand, and dispatched them by sea to Prince Rupert's, while he called in reinforcements from more distant quarters. He himself sailed on the eleventh, and arrived at Prince Rupert's on the evening of the same day. The troops which he had sent forward, joined with the marines of some ships of

war which were in the bay, had already been engaged in skirmishing with the mutineers, and had succeeded in compelling them to keep within the limits of the post. A parley had also been entered into, and terms proposed. The negociation was now continued, and it was at length agreed that the mutinous blacks should lay down their arms. When the governor entered, with five hundred men, to receive their submission, he found them drawn up on the parade with their two surviving officers in front. He then ordered them to ground their muskets, under pain of being attacked; but, instead of yielding obedience to this order, they seized their arms, and prepared to resist. A heavy fire was immediately poured in upon them, and a furious contest ensued, which, however, was of short duration. The revolters were speedily broken, and they took flight in all directions. Some scrambled up the outer cabrit, others fled up the inner one, and, as they ran along the line on the ridge, they fired the cannon there upon their pursuers, and then threw themselves headlong down the precipitous rocks. In half an hour the mutiny was at an end. Sixty of the mutineers were killed, and three hundred and seventy, among whom were forty wounded, were made prisoners. A very few escaped into the woods and mountains. The loss of the whites was four slain, and twenty-four wounded.

Several of the most criminal of the offenders were executed; but, in announcing these events to the public, the governor deemed it just, or politic, to assure the West-India regiments that his confidence in their fidelity remained unshaken, and that he was convinced that they would join with him in abhorrence of the cruel murders which their late comrades had committed.

Trinidad, towards the close of the year 1805, narrowly escaped from being the scene of a sanguinary tragedy. The blacks in that island, encouraged, doubtless, by the success of their sable brethren in St. Domingo, formed a plan to render themselves masters of the colony, by the atrocious means of a general massacre of the white inhabitants. They are said to have made all the municipal, judicial, and other arrangements for their new government, and to have been, for a long while, occupied in the organization of a military force. Happily, however, their scheme was discovered in time to prevent the conspirators from making any attempt to carry it into execution. Martial law was proclaimed, the most rigorous measures were taken to provide for the safety of the island, and a severe punishment was promptly inflicted on the ringleaders of the projected revolt.

That the employment of negroes as soldiers was not without danger, had already been proved by the melancholy event which occurred in Do-

minica. A fresh proof was now given in the island of Jamaica. About the latter end of August, 1808, fifty-four Chamba and Koromantyn negroes, who had been purchased to serve in the colonial corps, broke out into mutiny at Fort Augusta, while under drill, and massacred two of their officers, Major Darley and Lieutenant Ellis, who rode up to them to enquire into the cause of the tumult. They were speedily chastised for their disobedience and barbarity. Fifteen of them were killed on the spot, five were wounded, and seven were afterwards executed. The reason which they assigned for their conduct was, that they were too often drilled, and that they were desirous of returning to their native country. It was a consolatory circumstance that this mutiny was confined to the new recruits, and that the second West-India regiment, not only took no part in it, but was active in suppressing it. The sole disagreeable consequence which sprung from this event was the dispute, which has already been mentioned, between the governor of the island and the House of Assembly.

A danger of far greater magnitude threatened this colony in the succeeding year. A conspiracy was formed among the negroes, the object of which was to establish a government similar to that of St. Domingo. The means were to be, the firing of the towns, and the murdering of the white inhabitants. The execution of this

plan, it is said, was to have been begun by setting fire to the town of Kingston, the flames from which were to be the signal of revolt to other quarters. The day fixed upon was St. Patrick's day, but, some disappointment having arisen, the attempt was postponed till the end of March. Before, however, the latter time arrived, the conspiracy was disclosed to the government, by one Burgess, a deserter from the second West-India regiment, who had been introduced to the meetings of the conspirators. Burgess, having luckily been apprehended, was sentenced to death for his desertion, and, just before the sentence was to be executed, he, most probably with the hope of saving his life, revealed the important secret which his friends had confided to him. The subject having been strictly examined into, it was found that his depositions were true, and he was consequently pardoned. Many of the conspirators were apprehended, and many of them absconded. Two of them, Pet Watkins, who was to have been commander in chief, with the lofty title of duke, and Sambo John, who held the humbler rank of captain, were brought to trial, and were found guilty upon satisfactory evidence. They were both executed; and thus ended the project of a negro republic in the island of Jamaica.

It seemed, at this period, as if the revolutionary spirit were destined to make the circuit of

the West-India islands. Guadaloupe and Martinico were now in our possession, and both of them were in a disturbed state. In the former colony, however, matters were not pushed as far as they were in the former. In Guadaloupe disaffection showed itself only in words and in an occasional disobedience of the laws; but in Martinico a plot was entered into for seizing the town of St. Pierre, and the success of this step would doubtless have led to more extensive operations. At the head of this plot was a free Mulatto of the name of Moliere. The design was discovered on the day previous to that which was appointed for carrying it into effect. Moliere, his flight being prevented, blew out his own brains, many of his principal accomplices, less courageous, were seized in arms, and fifteen of them were put to death.

During the latter part of 1813, and a considerable part of 1814, Dominica was harassed by a maroon war. It appears that the interior fastnesses of that colony had not been ranged for nearly fifteen years, the consequence of which neglect was, that the runaway negroes increased in these intricate and secluded haunts, till they became formidable in point of numbers, and exceedingly troublesome to the white inhabitants, on whose property they daily committed extensive depredations. Nor were they contented with robbery alone. It is alleged against these fugitives that the governor having issued a proclama-

tion, offering pardon to all runaways, they put to death, after a mock trial, the messengers whom he sent with it, tore out their hearts, dried the hearts by the smoke of their fires, and exhibited them at the entrance of their camps. In various other instances, also, they committed the most wanton and atrocious barbarities. Ample proof of their daringness is afforded by the circumstance of large parties of them having entered Roseau, plundered the houses, and retired without the colonists having ventured to attack them. In fact, they in a manner held the town invested, and that so closely, that the senior member of the council, though residing only at the distance of half a mile from Roseau, was obliged to take shelter there with his family, and to request that a detachment of regulars might be sent for the protection of his estate. They followed this up by offering a reward of two thousand dollars for the head of the governor, carrying off the slaves who remained in obedience, putting to death those who attempted to escape from them, and making their camp an asylum for deserters, from the troops in garrison.

In this state of things it was absolutely necessary to adopt decisive measures. Governor Ainslie, therefore, put the military force of the colony in motion, for the purpose of hunting down the maroons, in the woods, and mountains, which were their places of retreat. This was a toilsome and inglorious sort of warfare, and it

continued for several months. At length, however, it was crowned with success; nearly the whole of the maroons being either killed in combat, taken prisoners, or compelled to come in and surrender.

Little or no notice of this war would, in all, probability, have been taken in England, had not the governor, in the course of the contest, put forth a proclamation, one part of which could scarcely fail to provoke censure. This paper, after offering pardon to those who will lay down their arms, proceeds to state that "the Rangers have orders to take no prisoners, but to put to death men, women and children, without exception." It is to be supposed, and it would be uncharitable not to suppose, that this menace was never intended to be acted upon, but was merely thrown out in the hope of intimidating the maroons into submission, by alarming them for the safety of those whom they naturally held dear. There can, nevertheless, be no doubt that it was flagrantly impolitic, nor that it was calculated to fix a stain upon the British character. In the Parliament the conduct of Governor Ainslie was severely canvassed; and the planters of Dominica were even said to have carried on hostilities against the maroons for the sole purpose of obtaining slaves by capture, since they could no longer procure them by the means of importation. From this charge, however, the planters seem,

by a statement which they made public, to have vindicated themselves in a satisfactory manner. It is indeed obvious that, without risking their lives and properties, they could not allow the maroons to increase their bands, and to fix themselves firmly in the centre of the island. In consequence of the discussion which took place, the governor was called home, to give an explanation on the subject, and as, during his administration at Grenada as well as at Dominica, he had, in more than one instance, acted at least indiscreetly he was not permitted to resume his authority in the colony of Dominica.

The insurrection in Barbadoes is the last occurrence which now remains to be noticed. This calamitous event took place on Easter Sunday, the 14th of April, 1816. The revolt broke out in St. Philip's parish, shortly after sun-set, and it extended, in the two following days, to the parishes of Christ Church, St. John and St. George. A conflagration, upon a high ridge of copse wood called Bishop's hill, in the parish of St. Philip's, was the first signal. Shortly after, the canes upon eight or nine of the surrounding estates were set on fire. Some few of the rebels were furnished with fire arms, and a scanty supply of ammunition, and the remainder were armed with swords, bludgeons, and such rude weapons as they had been able to procure. Their approach was announced by the beating of drums, the

blowing of shells, and other discordant sounds. They demolished the houses of the overseers, destroyed the sugar works, and fired the canes. Their fury seems, indeed, to have been exercised rather upon inanimate objects than upon animated beings. Sixty estates were more or less damaged; many of them to a considerable amount.

As soon as the news reached Bridge-town, martial law was proclaimed, and the regulars and militia were called into the field. The insurgents had certainly formed no plan of operations on which to act, in case of their being attacked. They seem to have thought that this was a dispute between them and their masters, in which no part would be taken by the regular troops. In consequence of this absurd belief, they were more occupied in wandering about, to spread devastation around them, than in preparing for battle. It is no wonder, therefore, that they were speedily routed by the military force which was sent against them. Several hundreds of them were slain; and many of the most criminal of the prisoners were brought to trial, and paid the penalty of their crime.

At the moment of the explosion, Sir James Leith, the governor, was absent at Guadaloupe. On his return home, which he hastened as much as possible, he took what may be called the singular step of publishing an address to the slave population. The sentiments expressed in this

address, conciliatory and humane as they were, did honour to the feelings of the writer. The language was remarkable, inasmuch as it distinctly held out a hope, that the period, though far distant, would arrive, when the system of slavery would cease to exist. "It is," said the governor, "not necessary to go into the nature and origin of slavery, in order to decide on the impracticability of its abolition, where it actually exists, excepting by a wise and unremitting system of amelioration, by which it will gradually produce its own reformation. By such means alone, and not by the attempt of a rash and destructive convulsion, has slavery imperceptibly, safely and happily changed, in every country where it had ever existed, but has now ceased, from the beginning of the world to the present time." Few of the promoters of the abolition had said as much as this; none had said more.

By the planters and their agents this revolt was attributed entirely to the introduction of the slave registry bill into the British Parliament. It is stated, on their part, by Mr. Went, a gentleman of Barbadoes, who assisted in the examination of many of the prisoners, that "a free-coloured man, named Joseph Pitt Washington Franklin, aided by three or four other coloured free men, had for several months previous attended the nocturnal meetings of the slaves on

several of the estates where the insurrection began, with newspapers which they said were English, and had been received from England; containing the information that a law had been passed there, making them free, and that they had only to demand their manumissions, which he said had arrived, but were withheld from them by their owners, under the advice of the attorney-general of the island, but which the governor, Sir James Leith, had power on his arrival to force their owners to give them; that he recommended them to endeavour to obtain this manumission by setting fire to the canes, &c; if then withheld, to proceed to the destruction of the buildings, assuring them, that as their freedom had been given to them by the king, the king's troops would not be employed against them. A standard was taken from a party of the insurgents by the commandant, Colonel Codd, containing the figure of a general officer, whom one of the witnesses described as intended for the king, passing a crown to the hands of a black man, who has, hanging on his arm, a white woman. In a scroll, beneath these figures, is the following motto, in broken English:—"Brittanie are happy to assist all such friends as endeavourance." This witness told Mr. Went, in explanation of the motto, "that Great Britain would assist the slaves, if they would endeavour to obtain their liberty themselves." This gentleman adds, "that he

has no difficulty in asserting, that the insurrection arose from the introduction of the slave registry bill into the House of Commons," and he logically declares that "he is supported in this assertion by the confessions of very many of the prisoners, who declared to him, that they should never have thought of doing as they had done, if they had not been informed that they had been made free in England; for they were very well treated by their owners, and very happy."

Now, admitting the veracity of the witnesses, it is manifest, that all this proves nothing more than that the meaning of a proposed law had been wickedly mis-stated to the negroes, and that, in consequence of this mis-statement the negroes had broken out into revolt. But what has this to do with the question of the law itself, or what valid argument against the law can the planters deduce from such premises? The slave registry act contained not a sentence which could be construed to indicate an intention of emancipating the slaves; and it was, therefore, guiltless of the melancholy catastrophe which it is said to have occasioned. The planters may not, perhaps, perceive the glaring absurdity of their reasoning, if reasoning it may be called; but the common sense of the rest of mankind cannot fail clearly to see, that it goes to this monstrous extent, that the Parliament must never listen to any proposition relative to the situation of the slaves,

and that all British writers must be prohibited from touching upon this delicate subject; because their intentions may possibly be misrepresented in the West Indies, and such misrepresentation may possibly be productive of another revolt. If, in deference to this new tropical principle, nothing is to be uttered or written, but that of which the sense is incapable of being perverted by designing men, the pen and the tongue may slumber in a long repose. It is, to say the least of it, unwise in the planters to broach doctrines which not only extinguish all sympathy, but likewise inevitably give birth to the feelings of contempt or of indignation. After having performed their duties to those who are under their control, let them trust their cause to the candour of their countrymen, and they will not stand in need of a more powerful advocate.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

HISTORY OF ST. DOMINGO.

SUPPLEMENT.

HISTORY OF ST. DOMINGO,

FROM

THE RETREAT OF THE BRITISH TROOPS IN 1798 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Character of Toussaint.—State of St. Domingo.—A constitution framed.—Revolt of Moise.—Expedition of the French against St. Domingo.—Landing of the French.—Contest between the blacks and the invaders.—Reduction of Crete à Pierrot.—Le Clerc throws off the mask.—Renewal of the contest. The black chiefs lay down their arms.—Toussaint treacherously seized and sent to France.—His death.—Renewal of the war.—Death of Le Clerc.—Dessalines chosen by the blacks as their leader.—Expulsion of the French.—Infamous conduct of Dessalines towards the whites, whom he causes to be massacred.—He is made emperor of Hayti.—His assassination.—Struggle for supremacy between Christophe and Petion.—Christophe invested with the title of king.—Agents sent over by Louis the Eighteenth.—Conclusion.

THOUGH from the moment when the British forces evacuated the colony of St. Domingo, its history has, strictly speaking, no longer a claim

to a place in this work, yet, as the original author has devoted a volume to the subject, and as many persons will, doubtless, be desirous to trace the progress of events down to the present time, a rapid sketch is here inserted, at once to complete the narrative in all its parts, and to gratify, as far as possible, a natural and rational curiosity.

It has been seen* that, when the British forces retired from St. Domingo, the government of that island was in the hands of Toussaint l'Ouverture. As the character and origin of the sable chief are but slightly touched on by Mr. Edwards, it is necessary that the reader should be made better acquainted with them, before he proceeds in the narrative. Toussaint was born about the year 1745, in the north of St. Domingo, on the plantation of the Count de Noé, at no great distance from Cape François. Only three circumstances are known respecting the early years of his life. These are his unalterable patience, his mildness to brute animals, and his attachment and inviolable fidelity to one female, whom he had chosen as his wife. The regularity of his conduct attracted the notice, and won the good-will of M. Bayou de Libertas, the bailiff or manager of the plantation. Through the kindness of this benevolent manager, or, as some

* Vol. III. p. 426.

affirm, through his own unaided efforts, he learned to read and to write, and obtained a sufficient knowledge of arithmetic; acquirements so uncommon in a slave, that they made him the wonder of his companions. M. Bayou now took him from the field, and gave him the place of his postillion; a place comparatively respectable, in which he could both acquire money, and find leisure to cultivate the talents that he possessed. His reading became tolerably extensive, and his ideas proportionably enlarged. His situation, too, was again ameliorated, by further promotion.

When the insurrection broke out, in 1791, Toussaint was eagerly solicited to act in concert with them, by several of the leaders who were his friends. It is probable that gratitude to his benefactor was the cause that prevented him from yielding to their solicitations. That he did not yield is certain. The flame of revolt, however, soon extended so widely, that the white planters were compelled to fly before it. Among those who lingered latest in St. Domingo was M. Bayou. His flight was indeed so long delayed, that it would at last have been impracticable, had not Toussaint secured it, though with some danger to himself. Nor did he content himself with merely saving the life of his benefactor. He shipped with him a quantity of colonial produce, sufficient for the supply of his

future wants; and when M. Bayou was finally settled at Baltimore, Toussaint seized upon every opportunity to make further remittances.

There was now nothing to prevent Toussaint from fighting under the standard of his countrymen. He accordingly joined Biassou, one of the negro chiefs, and was appointed his second in command. It was not long before Biassou, whose cruelty was equal to his courage, was degraded from his authority, which he had abused, and Toussaint was appointed in his stead. The death or resignation of the other chiefs, and the superior talents of Toussaint, eventually raised him to the rank of principal leader of the negro army.

The war carried on by the negroes against the whites, for the recovery of their freedom, had not long been terminated, by the complete attainment of its purpose, before another war broke out of a different nature. This second war was waged by the partisans of royalty against those of democracy, and the numbers on each side were, perhaps, nearly equal. Toussaint espoused the monarchical cause, and was one of its most strenuous and valuable defenders. So highly were his services estimated by the Spanish government, with which, as one of the allies, he acted in concert, that he received from it the rank of general, and other honours. He soon, however, discovered that the great object of most of the

planters who fought on the side of monarchy was merely to rivet once more the chains of his sable brethren; and he, therefore, wisely resolved to withdraw his powerful aid from a cause which was intended to be converted into an instrument of treachery and oppression. The result of this was, that he and his followers joined the republican banners, and were gladly received by General Laveaux, who is supposed to have done much towards bringing about this junction, and to whom Toussaint continued ever afterwards to be firmly attached. Disinterested, honourable and brave, Laveaux did, indeed, merit the friendship which was felt for him by his new companion in arms.

The person of Toussaint was manly. He was above the middle size, with a penetrating eye, a striking countenance, and with manners alike calculated, as occasion might require, to conciliate affection, or command respect. Active in all his movements, he was an excellent horseman, travelled with astonishing rapidity, slept little, and indulged still less in the pleasures of the table. He had a strong memory, an acute understanding, and an indefatigable industry. Personal revenge for injuries done to him he never gratified, he committed no acts of tyranny in his public character, perfidy he detested, and even his enemies were compelled to acknowledge that his word was always religiously held sacred.

Such was the man in whose hands was the

supreme authority over the French part of St. Domingo, after the departure of the British. For a while, indeed, his rival, Rigaud, who was at the head of the mulattos, maintained a sanguinary contest with him for supremacy, but was at length entirely defeated, and expelled from the island. The commissioners, sent by the Directory, still continued there, but, though they were always treated with that external deference which seemed to be due to them, on account of the nominal rank which they held, they were, in fact, mere cyphers, without the shadow of influence of any kind, and were forced to lean upon Toussaint for support, instead of exercising, as they were intended to do, any control over his actions.

Having no longer an enemy to contend with, Toussaint now turned his attention to heal the wounds which had been inflicted on his country by a long and obstinate war. Cultivation, and its attendant commerce, became the prominent objects of his care. The ports were opened to foreign vessels, which were invited to traffic for articles of colonial produce. Great Britain immediately sanctioned a trade between Jamaica and St. Domingo, and a similar step was shortly afterwards taken by the president of the United States.

No vestige of slavery, of course, any longer existed. But the blacks, nevertheless, were not allowed to waste their lives in a mischievous

indolence. They were employed as hired servants, and, that no disputes might arise, their remuneration was fixed by law at a third part of the crops; a rate which could not fail to give an ample reward to their labours. No civil courts as yet existed, and consequently idle vagrants, like deserters, were subject to a court-martial, which, however, could sentence them to no severer punishment than serving in the army. The beneficial result of these arrangements was speedily visible. The plantations were again brought into a fertile state, the sugar-works and distilleries were rebuilt, and, in little more than a year, the exports of St. Domingo were raised from the lowest ebb, to one third of what their extent had been in the most prosperous periods. Another striking proof of general improvement was shown in the population, which, from its enjoyment of numerous additional comforts, was increasing with wonderful rapidity.

Society assumed in this new and anomalous kind of republic a more polished aspect than was to be expected from the nature of its constituent parts. Among the rich classes, there was much splendor and luxury, not wholly without taste, and a considerable degree of politeness and attention to etiquette. Among the poorer, there was a spirit of kindness, hospitality, and attachment to domestic life, and little propensity to the commission of crimes. Books were not uncom-

mon in the cottages of the labourers. Dramatic exhibitions and music were encouraged, the churches were re-opened, and public worship was performed, with all the dazzling ceremonies of the Romish communion.

The military establishment which, at the time when the British quitted the island, was about forty thousand men, was soon swelled to more than double that number. The troops were excellently disciplined, and there seemed to be no want of skill on the part of their commanders. Many of their manœuvres were admirably adapted to the peculiar nature of the ground on which they were to be made, and they were executed with a celerity and precision that would not have disgraced an European army. Though, when not on duty, the soldiers and officers were on a footing of perfect equality, yet, in the field, a proper military subordination was strictly observed.

Having now an interval of leisure, Toussaint resolved to make a tour round the island, for the two-fold purpose of visiting the various posts, and also of taking possession of the city of Santo Domingo, which still remained under the Spanish authority, though the rest of the colony had been given up to the French, in pursuance of the treaty of Basle. His reception, as he journeyed through the territory over which he ruled, was of the most flattering kind; young and old, of all classes,

hurrying to meet him, and vying in their expressions of esteem and fidelity. The Spanish governor, Don Joachim Garcia, at first refused to deliver up the capital of the Spanish part of the island to any but native French troops. He was, however, soon convinced of the inutility of resistance, and the keys of the city were accordingly put into the hands of the negro chief. Having accomplished this important object, and made in his progress a variety of beneficial regulations, as well civil and commercial as military, Toussaint returned to the Cape, where he was universally hailed by the loudest acclamations.

It was now, for more than one reason, become necessary that a regular form of government should be established in St. Domingo. Independently of the manifest impropriety of allowing a free people to remain under military rule, there were circumstances in the conduct of France, which made it wise to put the seal to the liberty of the island. It was by no means difficult to perceive that the successful general, who had seized upon the reins of authority over the republic, was no friend to the state of things existing at present in the West Indian colonies. The new constitution, which was framed after the triumph of Buonaparte over the Directory, shut out from the French senate the representatives of St. Domingo; an ominous exclusion, which naturally proved offensive in no common

degree. It was also believed that the consuls had an intention, as was afterwards shewn to be the fact, of restoring slavery in the Windward Islands, a scheme which could leave little room for doubt that the same measure would be extended still further at a convenient opportunity. Toussaint, therefore, resolved to defeat this plan, by forming a constitution, which should place the freedom of his country upon a solid foundation.

In this great and beneficial work he was aided by many Europeans of talent, whom his liberality had drawn around him. Among these was M. Pascal, a descendant of the family of the celebrated mathematician and author of the Provincial Letters, the Abbé Moliere, and an Italian ecclesiastic of the name of Marinit. When their labours were completed, the result of them was submitted to an assembly of representatives, summoned from every district in the island. The form of constitution was unanimously approved of, and it was accordingly promulgated, with due ceremony, on the first of July, 1801. By this constitutional instrument the supreme executive power was entrusted to a governor-general, who was also to have the command of the land and sea forces, and the power of proposing the laws to the central assembly. His sway was to last only five years, with the sole exception in favour of Toussaint, that he should hold his office for life, and should have the privi-

lege of nominating the person who was to succeed him for the next five years after his decease. The right of nominating was thenceforth to belong to the central assembly. This assembly was to consist of two deputies from each department, to sit five years, and its fiat was necessary to give validity to the acts which were to be proposed by the governor-general. The island was, in truth, to enjoy a virtual independence, but a sort of paramount sovereignty, and the exclusive right of commerce with the inhabitants were assigned to France, whose future authority was, it seems, to be rather that of guardianship than that of absolute dominion. Still, her supremacy was unequivocally admitted, and the sanction of her assent was asked for the changes which had taken place.

Shortly after these important arrangements had been completed, a melancholy event occurred, which must have been a severe trial to the feelings of Toussaint, and which, with unparalleled baseness, was converted into a theme of calumny against him, by the very class of men in whose behalf he had done what nothing but a high sense of duty could have induced him to perform. General Moise, who was his nephew, his friend, and second in command, revolted, and prevailed upon several officers, and a part of the army, to join him in his revolt. Their object,

however, was not to deprive Toussaint of his authority, but to put to death all the whites, many of whom they did actually murder in cold blood. Their insurrection was speedily crushed, and Toussaint, inexorable to treachery and barbarity, was, in this case, deaf to the cries of relationship and friendship. Moise and thirty of his guilty companions were brought before a court-martial, by which, their crime having been clearly proved, they were sentenced to death. The governor did not think it proper to interpose his clemency, to save men who had shown none, and they were in consequence publicly executed at the Cape. On this occasion, Toussaint issued a long address to the people, to explain his conduct, and to impress on their minds the absolute necessity of industry and education, and of a strict performance of domestic, moral and religious duties. The execution of Moise was, nevertheless, subsequently blazoned forth to the world by the French, as being an act of the most unprovoked and atrocious tyranny.

That Toussaint, while he was laudably anxious to secure the freedom of his native land, was at the same time sincerely desirous that France should procure from St. Domingo every colonial and commercial advantage which it could afford to her, there seems to be no reason whatever to doubt. That he should cherish a wish to retain

the high station which he so well deserved, and to which he had been raised by the unanimous voice of his countrymen, was naturally to be expected, and the wish was prompted by an ambition of no dishonourable kind. There was doubtless no one who could so effectually as himself complete the work which he had so wisely begun. But, further than the retention of his authority, and the preventing of a return to the former order of things, he assuredly did not intend to go. His language was always warmly in favour of the mother country, if so that country may be called; he had formally acknowledged his subordination to her government, and he had given a sort of pledge for his fidelity, by sending his children to France for education, an example which was followed by several of his generals.

But a conditional occupation, a modified sovereignty, was not the object of the first consul. He was surrounded by colonial proprietors, who were irritated by their sufferings and losses, and eager to recover all their ancient tyrannical power, that they might satisfy their thirst of vengeance. Their importunity was loud and incessant, and they represented the conquest of the colony as being a work of certain and easy accomplishment. The pride of the persons in authority also came in aid of these clamours. It seemed to them, that there was something of

disgrace in being dictated to by men who had so recently been in the most servile of all conditions, and who were still looked upon with a scornful eye, as belonging to an inferior order of human beings. But it is probable that, above all, one idea had a predominating influence in the mind of the French ruler. On the restoration of peace, a numerous army would become useless abroad, and therefore formidable at home, and great numbers of officers, whom it would be next to impossible adequately to reward, and yet dangerous to treat with neglect, would be left wholly unemployed, and might, perhaps, feel disposed to exert their talents and courage in overthrowing that form of government which had so recently been established. A war in St. Domingo would find employment for these restless spirits; for the purpose of carrying it on, it would be easy to select that part of the army which was least to be trusted; and even defeat would have one beneficial effect, that of furnishing an additional opportunity to thin the ranks of the disaffected, by dispatching as reinforcements all those who were of doubtful allegiance.

The signing of the preliminaries of peace with England at length offered to the first consul an opportunity of carrying his plan into execution. In the harbours of Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort, twenty-six ships of war, and a crowd of

transports, were equipped, and an army, consisting of five and twenty thousand men, the whole of them chosen soldiers, was embarked with all the apparatus of military slaughter. It was in vain that the colonial deputies who, although divested of their representative character, still remained in France, entreated the government to pause before it excited the suspicions and irritated the passions of the blacks, by sending over a force which was manifestly too numerous to be intended for any other purpose than that of bending the colony once more under the yoke of slavery. Their prayers and remonstrances were heard with silent disdain. At the same time, as if to leave no room for doubt, as to the manner in which the troops were to be employed, all the enemies of Toussaint, and even those whom he had banished for the greatest crimes, were collected together, to form a part of this ominous expedition. Writings of a nature qualified to awaken all the fears of the negroes were also profusely circulated, and were at least tolerated, and perhaps encouraged. General Le Clerc, the brother-in-law of the first consul, was appointed captain-general, and authorized to supersede Toussaint; General Rochambeau, who governed the colony in 1793, and was notoriously hostile to the liberty of the blacks, was made second in command.

In order to obtain a sure footing in the island,

the semblance of pacific intentions was, nevertheless, to be preserved for a while. A proclamation was, therefore, addressed to the inhabitants of St. Domingo, in which they were told that, " whatever might be their origin or colour, they were all French, all free, and all equal, before God, and before the republic," and they were fraternally invited to embrace the new comers, and to rejoice to see again their friends and brothers of Europe. Yet even here, through the thin veil of simulated kindness, a peremptory and menacing spirit was plainly visible. It was declared, that the captain-general had brought with him " numerous forces to protect them against their enemies, and the enemies of the republic," and it was added, " that whoever shall dare to separate himself from him would be a traitor, who should be devoured by the anger of the mother country, as the fire devoured the dried canes." The proclamation, of course, did not specify who were the enemies who could not be kept down without an army of twenty-five thousand men, but in case any one, as was naturally to be expected, should say " these forces are destined to ravish your liberty from you," it instructed the people to answer, " the republic will not suffer it to be taken from us."

This proclamation was accompanied by a letter, from the first consul, to Toussaint. The

letter was not an unartful composition. It spoke briefly of the services of the sable chief, it professed esteem for him on behalf of the writer, it held out to him the prospect of rewards and honours, and it asked the assistance of his counsel, influence and talents, for the captain-general. Yet there was occasionally a tone of haughtiness and menace, which shewed that, in the other parts of the epistle, the real sentiments of the author were greatly at variance with his language. The hints respecting the "necessary forces to make the sovereignty of the French people be respected," and likewise about "the cruel war" which would be the consequence of disobedience, could not possibly be mistaken. That the letter might produce the stronger effect, it was to be presented by Coisnon, the preceptor of Toussaint's two sons, who was now sent over with them, and who was to deliver it to the father, at the same moment in which he restored to him his children.

How far Toussaint had lately speculated on the probability of so formidable an armament being dispatched from France, or to what extent he had carried his preparations for resistance, are points which have given rise to much dispute, but which never have been, and probably never will be, ascertained. It is asserted, on the one hand, that he had clearly foreseen, and fully

provided against, the hostile measures of the first consul; while, on the other, it is maintained, with no less pertinacity, that he was not aware of the storm which was ready to burst upon him, and, that such was his confidence in the policy or the gratitude of France, that he even imprisoned one of the deputies of the colony who, on his recent return home, had spread reports which had a tendency to excite, in the minds of the blacks, suspicions as to the real designs of the French government. From various circumstances, the latter opinion appears to be that which is the most probable. It is certain that, when the armament did arrive, he was by no means in such a state of preparation as, from his known prudence and his resources, he might have been expected to be, had he obtained timely notice of the full extent of his danger.

It was on the twenty-ninth of January, 1802, that the French squadron arrived off the peninsula of Samana, whence it steered its course towards Cape François. On the route thither, General Kerveseau was dispatched, with a part of the ships and troops, to take possession of the city of Santo Domingo. It was next arranged that General Rochambeau should proceed to Fort Dauphin, with one division; General Boudet to Port-au-Prince, with another; and the captain-general, with the remainder, to Cape François, the capital of the colony.

The division of Rochambeau, having a shorter distance to pass over, was the first to effect its landing. The disembarkation took place, on the third of February, in the bay of Manceville, not far from Fort Dauphin. It is said, by the French, that they were violently opposed, and that they were compelled to come to extremities with the blacks, before they could accomplish their mission On the other side, it is contended that they sent no summons, but wantonly attacked the negroes, who had run in crowds to see them come on shore, and had no suspicion that hostilities were intended Be this as it may, the invaders were completely successful in that quarter, as the whole of the forts were in their possession by the close of the day.

While this was going on, Le Clerc arrived off Cape François, and prepared to disembark the troops. Christophe, who commanded there, immediately sent an officer on board, to inform the French general that no disembarkation would be suffered, till instructions arrived from Toussaint, who was then in the interior; and that an attempt to land by force would occasion the burning of the town, and the leading into captivity of the white inhabitants. Le Clerc endeavoured to intimidate Christophe; but the latter, in spirited language, replied to him, that he would perform his duty. A deputation from the whites then went on board, to implore Le Clerc to suspend

his hostile movements, and thus save their property and their persons. To this prayer, however, he refused to listen. As soon as he was informed of Rochambeau's success, he disembarked his army near Point du Limbé, a few miles to the westward of the Cape. Knowing that, as the whites were universally inclined to join the invaders, the town was not tenable, Christophe executed his threat of setting it on fire, and then retreated without loss, taking with him, as hostages, about two thousand of the inhabitants.

The French were equally fortunate on the remaining points of attack. Kerveseau was received at St. Domingo without opposition. At Port-au-Prince, the division of Boudet accomplished its object, on the fifth, after a trifling resistance on the part of the blacks and General Humbert, who, after the capture of the Cape, was dispatched to Port de Paix, by Le Clerc, became master of the town and fort with little difficulty. All the French divisions had thus obtained a footing in St. Domingo. In the course of a few days they were reinforced by the arrival of 2300 men from Toulon.

Previously to pursuing his operations in the interior of the country, and perhaps in the hope that his formidable force, and the vigour which he had displayed, had inspired such terror as to render them unnecessary, Le Clerc thought it

proper to try what effect these circumstances, the sight of his two sons, and the letter of the first consul, would produce upon Toussaint. Coisnon was accordingly sent on this errand, with instructions to press the instant journey of Toussaint to the Cape, and to bring back the children, in case he could not succeed. When he reached Ennery, the residence of Toussaint, the able chief was absent in a distant part of the island, whence he did not return till the second day. Coisnon availed himself of this to work upon the feelings of the wife and mother. Toussaint met his children with rapture, and they shed tears in each other's embrace. For a while he was shaken by their solicitations, and the tears of their mother. But, at length, confirmed in his original suspicions by the conduct and language of Coisnon, who over-acted his part, he disengaged himself from the clasp of his wife and sons, took the preceptor into another apartment, and said to him, "Take back my children, since it must be so. I will be faithful to my brethren and my God." Unwilling to risk another interview with his children, he then mounted his horse, and rode to the camp. A correspondence was subsequently opened with him, by Le Clerc, but it did not accomplish its object.

This having failed, Le Clerc determined upon a vigorous prosecution of hostilities. As a pre-

liminary, he issued a proclamation, by which he outlawed Toussaint and Christophe, the former of whom he denominated "an insensible monster." At the same time he promised, that all cultivators who had taken up arms, should be considered as "children who had strayed," provided they promptly returned to their plantations; that liberty should be given to the people of the island; and that the soldiery who would abandon Toussaint should be received into the French army. Every other means which he could devise was also employed to shake the fidelity of the chiefs and followers of Toussaint. They were not only assailed by the seduction of praises, promises and rewards, but he was held up to their hatred, as a man who was wantonly plunging them into all the perils and horrors of war, for no better purpose than to gratify his own malevolent feelings, his ambition and his interest.

These arts were not without their intended effect. The indolent and the timid dreaded the consequences of war, and were, therefore, willing to believe that it was unnecessary; the credulous confided in the assurances of the French, and, of course, believed the same; and those who thought themselves neglected by Toussaint, or who had been punished by him for their crimes, were glad of an opportunity to take vengeance, by connecting themselves with his enemies. The result of these feelings was some immediate defections

from the standard of the black leader. Among the first of those who deserted him were Generals Agé and Clerveaux, the latter of whom, a mulatto, commanded in the department of Cibao. This example was shortly after followed by General Laplume, to whom had been entrusted the defence of the southern quarter of the island.

Le Clerc put his troops in motion on the seventeenth of February, the same day on which he issued his proclamation. While he and Rochambeau moved onward, from the Cape and Fort Dauphin, into the interior, General Boudet was to perform the same operation from Port au Prince; and General Debelle was to attack, and drive back upon Gonaives, the black general, Maurepas, who still held an entrenched position near Port de Paix, and had repeatedly defeated the division of General Humbert. Le Clerc soon found that the task which they had to accomplish was by no means an easy one. "One must," said he, "be acquainted with the country, in order to form a competent idea of the difficulties that are to be struggled with in every encounter. I experienced nothing in the Alps to be compared with them." Of these local obstacles the blacks made a judicious use. They concealed themselves in the woods and defiles, fell upon the heads and flanks of the advancing columns, and, when repulsed, effected a safe retreat to their inaccessible hills. In this way

they harassed and weakened the enemy, without exposing themselves to any serious defeat.

The French, however, as was to be expected from their numbers and superior tactical skill, succeeded in forcing back their sable antagonists, and penetrating some distance into the country. The divisions from the Cape and Fort Dauphin reached Plaisance, Dondon, and St. Raphael. General Christophe, after a gallant resistance, was under the necessity of retiring from the strong position of Marmalade, in consequence of the loss of the important post of the Morne at Bospen, which is said to have been traitorously surrendered by the officer who was entrusted with its defence. The chief of the district of Plaisance likewise betrayed his trust, and went over to the French with five hundred men.

On the side of Port au Prince, the invaders were at first not equally fortunate. Boudet marched to Croix des Bouquets, which, on his approach, the negroes deserted and set on fire. While he was preparing to continue his route, his attention was suddenly called off in another direction. Dessalines, who commanded in this quarter, made a feint of retiring to the Montagne des Grands Bois; but, by a rapid march, he passed the Montagne Noire, and fell upon Leogane, which he burnt, before the French could arrive to oppose him. This done, he withdrew to Jacquemel. The defection of General

Laplume obliged him, however, to quit this part of the country, and retreat to Grands Bois. Boudet then moved forward, and took possession of St. Marc, or rather of that part of it which remained undestroyed.

Debelle was, at the outset, not more lucky than his predecessor, Humbert, had been. He attacked the entrenchments of Maurepas; but, after a desperate contest, he was defeated with heavy loss. Anxious to remove this hostile division from its station on his right flank, Le Clerc prepared to march in person, at the head of a large reinforcement, in order to co-operate with Debelle. But this movement was rendered unnecessary. A negociation had already been opened with Maurepas, and the designs of the French had been represented to him in the fairest colours. Deceived by their protestations, he now consented to join them, with his four thousand men, on condition that the promises made by the proclamation of the captain-general should be faithfully observed.

Le Clerc, meanwhile, continued, though slowly, his progress. On the 21st of February, one of his divisions attacked Ennery, which was defended by Christophe. The position was carried by the assailants, and the black general was compelled to fall back to Bayonnai, having, however, had the satisfaction of cutting off a French corps. Being pursued to Bayonnai, by

the division of Salm, he withdrew from that post on the following day, and retired to the Mornes, leaving a part of one of his magazines in the hands of the enemy.

The French had not yet come to an engagement with the blacks under Toussaint in person. They were now to meet him. He was posted in the Ravine à Couleuvre, a position of remarkable strength, which he had still further secured by abbatis and other means of defence. His regular force consisted of fifteen hundred grenadiers, twelve hundred other troops, and four hundred dragoons; to which were added about two thousand cultivators, who were stationed on the wooded eminences, where they could be most useful in opposing the progress of the enemy. The contest was long, and both sides displayed much bravery and skill. The French themselves confessed, that the troops of Toussaint fought with great courage and obstinacy, and that it was a combat of man to man. As usual they claimed a victory, and asserted that the black chief was driven from the field, with the loss of eight hundred men. The battle was, in fact, a drawn battle; Le Clerc retiring to Gonaives, and Toussaint to the banks of La Petite Riviere.

Though Le Clerc had not yet achieved much by the sword, he had, by other means, made no small progress in accomplishing his purpose. In the various actions which had taken place, Tous-

saint had undoubtedly sustained a considerable loss of regular troops: not, however, sufficient to prevent him from keeping the field, had this been his only loss. But it was trivial in comparison with that which arose from the desertion of the chiefs and troops who fought under his standard. The example of Clervcaux and Laplume became, as it were, infectious. It was daily followed by other officers and bands, who either went over to the enemy, or retired to their homes. The negroes, indolent by nature, began, in fact, to grow tired of a war that deprived them of the comforts to which they had been lately accustomed; and which, besides, many of them believed to be persisted in by their leader for his own benefit, in direct opposition to their interests and repose. The French had not yet undeceived them, as to the fate which was intended for them.

The ranks of Toussaint were, by this means, thinned in such a manner that, by the end of February, he was no longer able to keep the field; his remaining force consisting principally of cultivators, who were badly armed, and worse disciplined. Yet he determined still to hold out, in the hope that the designs of the invaders would soon be unmasked, and that he should then see his countrymen eager to atone for their misconduct, by renewed and more vigorous efforts. Though not able to make head against the enemy

in general engagements, he was able to harass, alarm, and weaken them, by incessant movements and attacks. He availed himself of his thorough knowledge of the fastnesses, to burst unawares upon the French, to cut off their small and straggling parties, and to retire beyond the reach of pursuit as soon as he had stricken a blow. A war of this kind, though it affords but little scope for description, is exceedingly wearisome, disheartening, and destructive to those against whom it is carried on.

One strong position, however, the blacks still retained, and this Toussaint was resolved should be defended as obstinately as possible. It was the fort and Mornes of Crete à Pierrot, between Port au Prince and St. Marc, and about eight leagues distance from the latter place. Dessalines was entrusted with the defence of this last hold. In the beginning of March, Le Clerc removed his head quarters to Port au Prince, in order to be nearer to the scene of operations. Nearly the whole of the French army was employed either in the siege, or in occupying an extensive chain of posts, to prevent the escape of the besieged, or the introduction of succours. The French generals now began to give a loose to their love of cruelty. Six hundred negroes were surrounded and every one of them bayonetted by General Hardy; a similar slaughter was made at Trianon by General d'Henin; and a

third instance was shortly afterwards added to the number, by General Salins, who with a strong division surprised a small negro camp, and put to death every individual who was unable to effect his escape. Rochambeau, at the same time, carried fire and sword through the surrounding villages, murdering indiscriminately men and women, whether armed or unarmed. These acts of barbarity did not, however, pass entirely unpunished. In more than one encounter, the columns of the French were met by Dessalines, were routed, and pursued with heavy vengeance. The invaders at last succeeded in circumscribing him within the limits of the fort. Their attacks were vigorously pushed on, but they were so strenuously opposed that they advanced with extreme slowness. Finding, nevertheless, towards the end of March, that the place would speedily be no longer tenable, Dessalines sallied forth with the majority of his forces, penetrated the enemy's lines, and made good his retreat. Three days afterwards, the remainder of the garrison attempted, in like manner, to break through the beleaguering army. But the besiegers were now on their guard. Only a small part of the garrison was successful in opening its passage; the other part was hemmed in, and massacred without mercy. The reduction of Crete à Pierrot is said to have been purchased by the assailants at the expense of three thousand men, and several of their best generals.

The fall of Crete à Pierrot seems to have been considered by Le Clerc as a circumstance which was decisive with respect to the subjugation of the blacks, and which, therefore, rendered it unnecessary any longer to conceal his real intentions. The soldiery had already shown in what manner they were disposed to act. Thus assured of the temper of his army, and believing that resistance was at an end on the part of his enemies, he issued an order, by which he restored to the proprietors, or their attornies, all their ancient authority over the negroes belonging to their estates.

Never was so important a step taken with so little foresight as was displayed in this instance. The order given by Le Clerc opened the eyes of every class of the negro population. The cultivators discovered that they were again enslaved, and the negro soldiers had reason to believe that the promises which had been made to them would be no better kept than those which had been made to their unarmed brethren. The soldiery, however, could not immediately resent this treachery by an appeal to arms; for they had been broken into small parties, which were kept asunder and closely watched. Opportunity, nevertheless, was all that was wanting, to rally them once more round the standard of Toussaint.

This was the state of things to which Toussaint had looked forward, and, now that it was arrived, he hastened to turn it to advantage.

Descending with several hundred men from his fastnesses, and joining Christophe, who was at the head of three hundred regular troops, he marched rapidly towards the north of the island, collecting at every step his partisans, who were in great numbers, and eager to punish the perfidy of the French. His force speedily became formidable. Having routed the division of Destourneaux, at Plaisance, he passed through Dondon and Marmelade, drove in the enemy's posts in all directions, and halted within a mile and a half of Cape François. General Boyer, who commanded in the town, was thrown into the utmost consternation, by the sudden approach of the black army. The ships in the harbour were hauled on shore, that their broadsides might play upon the troops of the sable chief, and batteries were hastily erected. With all the military force that he could muster, seconded by twelve hundred seamen and marines from the fleet, Boyer made a sally, but was driven back in confusion, under the walls of the place. The Cape was soon closely invested, and would have been lost, had not the division of Hardy arrived, by forced marches, to its succour. The captain-general followed by sea from Port au Prince, having previously given orders to his troops to abandon the posts in the interior, and concentrate their forces in the north. The approach of the whole of the French divisions at length induced

Toussaint to withdraw, to a position in the mountains of Hincha; well satisfied with having rescued the south and the west from the hands of the enemy.

The terror which they had felt, and the loss of men and of credit which they had sustained, were not the worst consequences which arose to the French from this invasion of the north by Toussaint. Hitherto the troops had continued in excellent health. But the scene was now to be changed. By the crowds which had taken shelter in Cape François a contagious disorder was generated, which rapidly spread among the soldiers, thinning their ranks, and dispiriting the survivers. Powerful reinforcements arrived frequently from France, but, powerful as they were, they barely sufficed to fill the chasms which were daily making in the army by disease, incessant toil, and the ravages of the sword.

Le Clerc was now convinced that he had been too precipitate in throwing off the mask. Difficult as it must have seemed to him to be, once more to deceive the blacks, he resolved to try how far it was possible for him to work upon their credulity. Accordingly, on the 25th of April, he issued a proclamation, couched in the most insidious and equivocal terms, apparently promising liberty and equality to all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, without regard to colour, and holding out to the blacks the prospect of their

having a share in the government of the island. In this wily composition, he called for the counsel and opinions of all parties, in order to prevent him from pursuing, through mere ignorance, measures which might be detrimental to the welfare of the colony, and he did not fail indirectly to intimate, that whatever erroneous steps he had taken had been the consequence of his want of acquaintance with the wants, the interests, and the character of the people. This proclamation was immediately sent to the camps of the negroes, and profusely distributed in all quarters.

Astonishing as the fact may appear to be, it is, nevertheless, true, that Le Clerc had not miscalculated, with regard to the readiness of the blacks to be entrapped by the same snare, in which they had already once been caught. They read, and they believed: thus proving, as to themselves, the correctness of what has been asserted of the unlettered of other countries, that every thing which appears in print is supposed by them to be stamped with the character of truth. It must, at the same time, be remembered as some apology for their credulous conduct, that it was not unnatural for the blacks to imagine, that the severe chastisement which they had recently inflicted upon French perfidy, would have the effect of deterring the captain-general from again indulging in the violation of his promises.

Feelings of this kind, assisted by the love of

repose, and the dislike of enduring hardships, induced the blacks to regard with disgust a prolongation of the contest. Liberty was all that they wanted, and that, they were of opinion, was now secured. It was idle, therefore, to expose themselves, without an object, to toils and dangers. Defections began to take place to a great extent. Even those who, on the former occasion, had remained constant, were now won over by the seductions of the enemy. Christophe was one of these. He entered into a negociation with Le Clerc, which ended in his submitting to the authority of the French republic. This step was also taken by Toussaint's brother, Paul L'Ouverture, who was at the head of two thousand troops.

Christophe, however, did not abandon his companions in arms, without making some stipulations in their favour. He obtained a general amnesty, and the preservation of his own rank, and that of all the negro officers. But he did not stop here. He likewise insisted on the same terms being granted to Toussaint and to Dessalines; and to this article, unpalatable as it must have been, Le Clerc was compelled to give his assent. A treaty was, in consequence, entered into with the two chiefs; a peace was concluded; and, by the beginning of May, the French were in quiet possession of the whole of St. Domingo. Dessalines retired to St. Marc, and Toussaint

to one of his plantations, which was situated in the neighbourhood of Gonaives.

The tranquillity thus restored might have been lasting, had the captain-general been capable of acting in an honourable manner. But treachery seemed to be his element, out of which he could not exist. Toussaint was the first victim of it. Early in June, the Hero man of war, and the Creole frigate, anchored, in the dead of night, off Gonaives, near the residence of the negro chief. Several boats were then dispatched on shore, with troops, headed by General Brunet and Ferrari, the aid-du-camp of Le Clerc. While Toussaint and all his family were asleep his house was surrounded, and a file of grenadiers penetrated into his chamber, and summoned him to surrender. Resistance would have been unavailing; and he, therefore, submitted. He asked but one favour, and that was refused. "I will not," said he, "resist the power which you have obtained over me; but my wife is feeble, and my children can do no harm. Suffer them, then, to remain at home.' His pleading was in vain. All the members of his family were dragged on board of the frigate, which immediately put to sea. Two of the black chiefs, in the vicinity of Gonaives, endeavoured to save their leader, by an attack upon the escort, but they were defeated, and the loss of their lives was the penalty of their fidelity.

These two perished speedily. A fate probably less prompt and more terrible, was reserved for other friends of Toussaint. A hundred persons, against whom no heavier charge was brought than that they were his confidential partisans, were seized; some of whom were put on board La Muiron frigate, which was bound to the Mediterranean, and the remainder were distributed among the ships of the squadron. What became of these unfortunate men has never been made known. It has been surmised, and not improbably, that their captivity was terminated by their being thrown into the ocean; a summary mode of execution, which was certainly resorted to by the French in many other instances.

In justification of the step which he had taken, Le Clerc accused Toussaint of having intended to excite an insurrection among the working negroes, and to raise them in mass. The only proof which he condescended to produce was a letter, written by the negro chief to one Fontaine, which, unfortunately for the veracity of the captain-general, proved directly the contrary of what he asserted, and proved, likewise, that, in violation of the promises which had been so recently given, attempts were already making to reduce the negroes once more to a state of bondage.

During the voyage, Toussaint was closely guarded in his cabin, and was not permitted to

have any intercourse with his family. His last and brief interview with them took place at Brest, on the deck of the ship, and was so heart-breaking as to raise compassion in the bosoms of even the sailors. His family was conveyed to Bayonne, and what was its subsequent fate is a matter of uncertainty. Toussaint himself was hurried to the castle of Joux, whence, on the approach of winter, he was removed to Besançon, where he was confined in a dungeon, the floor of which is said to have been covered with water. His death was announced to the public on the 27th of April, 1803. It was the natural consequence of that slow torture which was inflicted by cold, and damp, and inaction, upon a man who had been accustomed to continual exercise, free air, and a torrid climate. Thus perished Toussaint L'Ouverture, a man worthy to be held in honourable remembrance for his courage, his talents, and his virtues, and especially for those virtues which are least often found in persons holding authority, namely, forgiveness of injuries, a strict adherence to his word and to truth, and a temperate exercise of power.

As if, now that Toussaint was removed, there was nothing left to be feared, Le Clerc amused himself with promulgating a system of government. It was, however, for the greater part, little more than a servile copy of some of the regulations which had been established by his sable

predecessor, and its existence was so ephemeral, that to notice it any further than to say that martial law was the basis of it, would be a waste of time.

To the blacks, who were doubtless supposed to be too broken in spirit to resent their wrongs, the grossest injustice, breach of faith, and cruelty were shown. The negro troops were separated, carefully watched, disarmed, and treated in a manner which betrayed an intention of acting towards them with still more harshness; and, at the same time, attempts were perpetually made, to oppress and enslave the cultivators of the soil. The chiefs, on frivolous pretexts, or on no pretext at all, were arrested and slaughtered in various ways. General Maurepas, the brother-in-law of Christophe, was invited to the Cape by a flattering letter; but, when he arrived in the harbour, with his family and four hundred of his men, he was seized by the myrmidons of Le Clerc. They were proceeding to tye bullets to his feet, and to throw him into the sea; but he broke from them, and exclaiming "Robbers! it is my property that you want; you shall not have the honour of drowning me;" he plunged into the waves. His children and his soldiers were pre-

ated after him. The news of this massacre

is carried to Christophe, by one of the blacks, who had been fortunate enough to disengage himself from the bullets, and swim to land; and,

almost at the same moment, the body of Maurepas, which had been mutilated by a shark, was found upon the shore. Another chief, named Charles Chevalier, was hanged with his wife, who possessed a truly Roman soul. Seeing that her husband manifested signs of weakness at the sight of the apparatus of death, she reproachfully said to him, "What! do you not know how to die for liberty!" then, having uttered these words, she flung herself from the platform, and quickly ceased to exist.

Le Clerc miscalculated entirely, as to the patience and timidity of those who were the victims of his tyranny. He had no reason to doubt the courage of the blacks; and, had they been the most dastardly of mankind, he ought to have known that there is a point at which even cowardice itself forgets to fear. There was, in truth, now no resource for the blacks, except in an appeal to arms, and it was obvious that their liberty could be secured by nothing less than the destruction or expulsion of the French. The chiefs were, indeed, by this time, well aware that they were marked out for sacrifice; and the other classes were equally aware that, if they valued their freedom, they must defend it by the sword. Insurrections consequently broke out in every quarter, and new leaders, as brave and active as the old, appeared in the field. Nor were the original leaders of the blacks at all tardy in per-

forming their duty. As soon as they had made the needful preparations, Christophe, Dessalines, and Clerveaux again raised their standards, and their re-appearance was the signal for general revolt.

From this period the war assumed a character of unmitigated ferocity, at which humanity shudders. It was not merely a war of extermination, but of torture, and refinement in barbarity. It was not sufficient for the French to kill, if they could not glut their rage and revenge upon their enemies, by every mode of inflicting agony that a sanguinary imagination could invent. The prisoners were drowned, or stifled by the fumes of sulphur, or shot on the brink of a deep pit, into which the dead and the wounded were indiscriminately thrust, or they were massacred, by hundreds, or exposed, naked and fettered, to be torn to pieces by hungry blood-hounds, which were imported for the purpose from Cuba, and carefully trained. The ground was in many places covered with mangled, decaying bodies, and the air was poisoned by the pestilential exhalations from these masses of corruption.

So many crimes were not, however, suffered by Divine justice to escape without being punished. During the summer of 1803, the situation of the French was such, that it would have been pitiable, had they not forfeited all claim to pity. The same devouring plague which had before

thinned the ranks of the British army, now exercised its ravages upon those of the French with more destructive fury. The invaders laboured, in truth, under many disadvantages. Unaccustomed to the climate, they were worn down by intense heat and incessant toil; and the contest was, besides, of so undignified and hateful a nature, that, instead of elevating the mind by the prospect of glory, and thus giving strength to the corporeal frame, it depressed and deadened the spirits, and consequently rendered the body more accessible to the influence of contagion. It is no wonder, then, that the grave was hourly receiving innumerable victims. In one of his dispatches, General Boyer has enabled us to form some idea of the situation of the troops. "The heat," says he, "was excessive; it became impossible for us to make any movement. The lowest Mornes presented obstacles to us proportioned to the inconveniences of the temperature. The number of the robbers increased. Our hospitals were filled with sick, and every day the sickness made new havoc. The robbers calculated its progress with a secret joy." Returning to the subject, in another part of his letter, he adds, "the sickness has made dreadful ravages; the oldest men do not remember so sickly a year." Such was the mortality that, great as were the reinforcements which, before the ports were closed, arrived in St. Domingo, and they have been es-

timated at from three to five thousand men monthly, they did not suffice to supply the place of those who had fallen by sickness or by the sword. Nor were sickness and the sword the only causes which contributed to diminish the number of the invaders. Desertion, even among the white troops, and especially among the Poles and other foreigners, were frequent and extensive; the humane part of the soldiery feeling a shame and disgust at being converted into instruments of baseness and cruelty.

To endeavour to trace the various encounters which occurred, would be a fruitless and a sickening task. Even where the operations of war are seen tricked out with all the pomp and circumstance of military science, the monotonous narrative of daily slaughter gives birth to painful ideas; but, when they are shown in all their naked deformity, it is impossible that the description of them should excite any thing but loathing. The conflict between the blacks and the whites was not of that kind which bears the name of regular war. It consisted chiefly of a succession of petty combats, of ambuscades, of surprises, in which the French were sometimes victors, more often vanquished, but in which success itself was of no avail to them. When hard pressed, the negroes sought refuge in the Mornes, whence, as soon as their enemies had departed, they again poured down and resumed their former stations. By

this kind of tactics, however, seconded by disease, the French army was so weakened that, before the end of October, it was driven into the fortified towns, and had lost Port de Paix, Fort Dauphin, and other important posts.

In the midst of this disastrous state of affairs, the captain-general, Le Clerc, died on the first of November, and was succeeded by Rochambeau, who was then at Port au Prince, but who hastened to Cape François, in order to assume the command. Before the new captain-general could arrive, the blacks, having been informed of the death of Le Clerc, and hoping that it had disheartened the garrison, made an attack upon the Cape. In this, though they fought with great courage, they were defeated. Desirous, on his side, that some act of vigour should give lustre to the commencement of his new career, Rochambeau determined to remain no longer on the defensive. In pursuance of this resolution, his troops took the field, defeated, in one quarter, a black division, which was blockading the Mole, and, in another, recovered Fort Dauphin, after a sharp engagement. This, however, was the last gleam of their good fortune, and it was a transient one. By the beginning of 1803 they were again cooped up within the scanty limits of their fortified towns, and were as closely beleagured as ever by their sable antagonists.

Dessalines was now invested with the chief

command of the black army, which received daily accessions of strength. The principal part of his force he drew into the plain of the Cape, for the purpose of straitening the quarters of the French. In March a battle took place, in the neighbourhood of Acul. It was commenced by the French, and was obstinately fought on both sides. At first, the assailants had the ascendancy, but, towards night, the blacks succeeded in repulsing them on all sides. Irritated by this defeat, Rochambeau ordered five hundred of his prisoners to be put to death. Some of these unfortunate men were only mutilated by their executioners, and were left on the field all night, to perish in agonies. Their cries and groans were heard to a considerable distance. Informed of this barbarous proceeding, Dessalines directed five hundred gibbets to be raised, selected all the officers whom he had taken, and as many of the privates as were necessary to make up the number, and hung them up, before break of day, in sight of the French camp. He then made an impetuous attack upon the enemy, broke their lines, and drove them in disorder under the walls of Cape François.

The contest might, nevertheless, still have been indefinitely protracted, had the sea continued open to the French. But an event now happened by which that was closed to them, and an end was consequently put to their every hope.

This was the renewal of the war between England and France. In the latter end of June, a British squadron appeared off the island, and formed a rigorous blockade. Animated by this fortunate circumstance, the blacks held their enemies more closely invested than ever on the side of the land. The horrors of famine were in a short time added to those of disease and the sword. The French were reduced to feed on horses, mules, asses, and on the very dogs which they had brought from Cuba, for the purpose of tearing in pieces alive and devouring the blacks. One by one, the garrisons of the forts, as already has been shewn in the History of the War, implored the protection of the British; and, at length, with sullen reluctance, Rochambeau took the same step, and the last French standards that floated in St. Domingo were hauled down from the walls of Cape François and of St. Nicholas Mole. After a struggle, scarcely interrupted, of twenty-two months, the blacks enjoyed the triumph of compelling the remnant of their oppressors to leave them in possession of their liberty, and of their native soil.

Thus ended, in utter defeat and shame, and almost annihilation to the force of the invaders, a war which they had carried on with a ferociousness disgraceful to themselves, and shocking to humanity. It was not, however, as Lyons and La Vendee could attest, the first time that

French armies had indulged in such horrible barbarities as those which were practised in St. Domingo; though the dear-bought experience which they had gained at home might have taught them, if any thing could teach the sanguinary and obstinate, that the natural consequence of driving men to despair by cruelty and oppression is, to render their resistance interminable as long as life remains. The dreadful scenes which took place in St. Domingo have already been incidentally touched upon; and a concise but striking picture of them, which has been drawn by a French author, will serve to make them known to the reader, in all their horrible perfection.

"If we consider," says he, "only the crimes of the blacks against the whites, we shall look upon them as monsters. But if we call to mind, that they have been drowned by thousands, in vessels upon Carrier's construction; that they have been hunted down like wild beasts, by dogs taught to pursue them; that they have been thrown to be devoured alive by those cruel animals; that, after having lain down their arms in pursuance of military treaties, they have been hanged, burned, and slaughtered by grape-shot; that they have been transported to Europe, for the purpose of being placed in the first line in battle; that they have been plunged into dungeons, there to perish by hunger, or in torments;

and that, after having had their liberty guaranteed to them, they have been sent by ship-loads to be sold in the continental colonies; if we call all these things to mind, we can only groan over the cruel effect of the passions and of the spirit of revenge; and the philosopher will see in the chaos of crimes, and in the narrative of so many frenzied actions, only an atrocious and bloody page in the history of the human heart!"

The time was now at hand when these cruelties were to be avenged by cruelties of a nature almost equally base and atrocious. Toussaint, in this situation, would have enjoyed the pleasure of forgiving and protecting; but the gloomy and sanguinary mind of Dessalines was inaccessible to any feeling of so noble a character. The unhappy white colonists were destined to pay with their lives for the late terrible events which had taken place. The blow was, however, for a while suspended, and every thing was done to lull them into security, and even to increase the number of the victims. Aware that it was impossible for them to send off their property without its falling into the hands of the English, by which they would be reduced to poverty, and hoping that Dessalines would act in the same spirit that Toussaint had done, the planters determined to remain under the government of the negro chieftain. They had, at first, reason to believe that they had acted wisely. Dessalines issued pro-

clamations, assuring men of all colours of being indiscriminately protected, inviting back such white proprietors as were disposed "to renounce their former errors, and abjure the injustice of their exorbitant pretensions," and declaring that they should be received as brothers, with esteem and friendship. Nay, so far did these papers carry their deceptious language, as to lament that some murders had been committed on good and humane landholders, "contrary, said Dessalines, to the wishes of our hearts."

But, not many weeks had elapsed before the real intentions of Dessalines were made perfectly obvious. By a proclamation, in the true French revolutionary style, fraught with interrogation, exclamation, invective, and dark suggestions, he stimulated his countrymen to stain their hands in the blood of the whites, and "to ensure by a last act of national authority," for this was the name which he gave to assassination, "the permanent empire of liberty in the country which had given them birth." Every line of this detestable production breathed rage and slaughter. It was followed, in February, by another, less objectionable in its terms, but which, as it ordered judicial proceedings against the actors and accomplices of the massacres perpetrated under Le Clerc and Rochambeau, was undoubtedly a breach of the complete amnesty which he had promised to grant.

It was the object of Dessalines to excite the black population to take on itself the task, and share the guilt, of exterminating the whites. In this he failed. The blacks did not participate in the malignity and fury by which he himself was animated. But, though his subjects were deaf to his exhortations, he resolved that his victims should not escape. The storm at length burst upon the devoted planters, whose flight he had taken especial care to prevent, by ordering a strict search of every vessel that sailed from his harbours. The military force was employed and disgraced in the performance of his hateful purpose. All the towns were successively visited by him, and the French inhabitants were put to the sword before his eyes, with the exception of a few surgeons, priests, and others, who, during the recent war, had acted towards the blacks with acknowledged humanity. Neither sex nor age was any protection, provided the victim were French. Guards, however, were placed over the houses of all other whites, with positive injunctions to prevent even the slightest violence from being offered to the inhabitants.

That nothing might be wanting to complete the darkness of his character, he added perfidy to cruelty. As the massacre had been expected, several hundred persons had secreted themselves. They were now invited forth by a proclamation, which declared that the national vengeance was

satisfied, and they might, therefore, depend upon perfect security, on condition of their coming to the parade to obtain tickets of protection. They obeyed this deceitful mandate; but, instead of receiving the promised tickets, they were led to the place of execution and murdered. The rivulet which passes through Cape François was literally reddened with their blood. Christophe and the majority of his companions disapproved, in silence, of these horrible deeds; but two black officers, who had the boldness to express their disapprobation, were punished for it, by being compelled to hang two Frenchmen, who were then in the fort.

This act was claimed and vaunted as his own, by Dessalines, in a furious address to the inhabitants of the island. The sole ground of defence, which it brought forward, was, that some of the French had engaged in plots; an accusation which, perhaps, was true, but which could not justify the means that he employed, and the wide slaughter of the innocent, and of women and children. It was in his power to bring conspirators to punishment in a proper manner. The most remarkable passage, however, in this curious paper, was one which contained an impudent and cowardly insinuation against the character of Toussaint. In private, Dessalines is said to have pleaded the absolute necessity of gratifying his troops with the blood

of their enemies, as the real motive which prompted him to his barbarous conduct.

Previously to this event, Dessalines had been invested with the supreme dignity. A meeting of the chiefs and generals took place on the first of January, 1804; and their first step was to renounce for ever all connection with France, and to pledge themselves, by the most solemn oaths, to perish rather than to yield to her dominion. Dessalines was appointed governor-general for life, and was entrusted with the power of enacting laws, making war and peace, and nominating his successor. That nothing might remain that could remind them of French sovereignty, they abolished the name of St. Domingo, and restored to the island the name of Hayti, which was its aboriginal name.

In order to recruit the population of the country, Dessalines, on his accession to power, held out encouragement to the returning of such negroes and mulattoes as had been taken from the island; and he offered, to American captains, a reward of forty dollars, for each person whom they conveyed in their vessels. He likewise expressed his readiness to open his ports to English slave ships, and to give the people of Jamaica the exclusive privilege of selling negroes in Hayti. The blacks so imported were, however, to be employed only in the military service; and, on his being censured for this scheme, he pleaded,

that, as negroes would still continue to be torn from Africa, it was better that he should make freemen and soldiers of them, than that they should be doomed to perpetual bondage in the British and other colonies.

At the period when the wretched fragments of the French army in the western quarter were expelled from their last holds, at the Cape and the Mole, the Spanish part of the island acknowledged the authority of the conquerors. Persuaded, however, by their priests, as it is said, or, more probably, disgusted and terrified by the brutality of Dessalines, the Spaniards subsequently retracted their submission, and espoused the cause of the French. The city of Santo Domingo, the fortifications of which, though intrinsically bad, are strong enough to keep at bay an unskilful assailant, was still in the possession of the French, who were commanded by General Ferrand. From that city Dessalines resolved to dislodge the enemy. Having previously made a tour round the coast, to examine and strengthen every point, he issued a proclamation, addressed to the Spaniards, threatening them with his utmost vengeance, if they persisted in their opposition; and he then marched to give weight to his threat with twenty-two thousand men. He laid siege to Santo Domingo, but he was unable to make any impression upon the works, which were obstinately defended; and the arrival of a French

squadron, with reinforcements, induced him to consider his enterprise as a hopeless one, and to retire homeward with his baffled forces.

That General Ferrand displayed courage and talent in the defence of Santo Domingo is indisputable, but that he was destitute of prudence and humanity is made obvious, by a proclamation, which he thought proper to issue against those who furnished the blacks with supplies, and which, even from a French general, must be considered as an extraordinary production. Were it not for the date, it might easily be mistaken for one of the compositions of that committee of public safety which, in the years 1793 and 1794, covered France with scaffolds and blood. An air of ludicrousness is at the same time thrown over it, by the circumstance that, at the period when it came forth, the British vessels were masters of the sea, and Ferrand himself was a sort of prisoner within certain bounds. "All individuals whomsoever," says this summary decree of proscription, "who are found on board any vessel, or vessels, allies or neutrals, bound to any ports in Hispaniola occupied by the rebels, shall suffer death. Those found on board any vessel, allies or neutrals, coming out of any ports in Hispaniola, occupied by the rebels, shall suffer death." The last clause is a very fit climax to such a mass of spiteful and absurd barbarity as this paper displays. "Those found," it says "at two leagues

from any port on the coast of Hispaniola, occupied by the rebels, on board of allies or neutrals, shall suffer death." The author of this proclamation died in a manner which was worthy of him. Having been defeated by the Spaniards in the year 1808, he blew out his brains, in the dread of falling into the hands of those who were closely pursuing him.

The failure of Dessalines, in his enterprise against Santo Domingo, did not diminish the confidence which was reposed in him by his black countrymen, the Haytians, as they will henceforth be called. Of this, shortly after his return, they gave to him a signal proof. On the eighth of October, he was crowned, with great pomp, as emperor of Hayti, by the name of James the first. A new constitution was, at the same time, promulgated, purporting to be the production of twenty-three persons, who were the legally chosen representatives of the people. Though not without obvious defects, it had much in it that was praiseworthy; and, had it been properly administered, it might have ensured the happiness of the Haytians. Among other things, it established a toleration in religious affairs, the equal operation of the laws, and the inviolability of the property and the dwellings of the citizens. It gave to the emperor numerous privileges of high value, and the dangerous power of making the laws; but it decreed that, in case of his attaching to

himself any separate military force, under the name of guards of honour, or any other name, he should be deemed to be at war with the community, and should be removed from the throne.

Delivered from the scourge under which they had lain so long, the Haytians now began to turn their attention to the arts, and enjoy some of the comforts of civilized existence. Religion was treated with due respect, marriage was encouraged, and schools were established in almost every district. The cultivators, though in certain cases allowed to remove, worked, in general, on the estates to which they had formerly belonged, but their labour was not urged beyond their strength, and it was paid for with liberality. A majority of them were females; the late sanguinary war having considerably decreased the number of adult males. Estates, as having been confiscated, were mostly in the hands of the government, by which they were let out at stated rents. When, however, a mustee or mulatto, though illegitimate, could prove his relationship with an old white proprietor, he was admitted as the heir of his property. The sugar works having been nearly all destroyed, coffee was the chief article of produce, and, in the year 1805, thirty millions of pounds of it were grown.

In the year just mentioned, the population of Hayti appears to have consisted of about four hundred thousand souls. The regular army,

which, though badly clothed, was well disciplined and armed, was fifteen thousand strong, one-tenth of which number was cavalry. Besides this, there was a sort of militia, formed of all the males capable of bearing arms, who were annually embodied and trained four times, during several days. In case that a peace with England should put it into the power of France to renew her attacks, it was resolved by the Haytians to destroy the towns, and withdraw to the Mornes; and, with a view to this, they fortified, with great assiduity and skill, all the most commanding positions, collected large magazines in the interior, and extensively planted the ravines and slopes of the hills with yams, bananas, plantains, and other articles of food. Many of the forts were situated on conical hills, the circuit of which was cultivated as a provision ground, and could be swept by the fire of the cannon, so as to prevent an enemy from interrupting the garrison in their obtaining the supplies which were furnished by the soil. Particular care was taken to supply these positions with water, the want of which had been severely felt at Crete à Pierrot.

The reign of Dessalines was not of long duration. Ferocious, unenlightened, full of jealousy, and caprice, he had little more to recommend him than the merely animal qualities of activity and courage. Some of his decrees on the subjects of legislation and commerce are sufficient

testimonies of his lack of knowledge and talents. But, had ignorance been his only demerit, he would, in all probability, have continued for many years to be the peaceable possessor of the throne. His cruelty was the cause of his downfal. Without proof of guilt, without even the form of a trial, he scrupled not to shed the blood of his people, whenever he was prompted by his passions or his fears. The offspring of tyranny is conspiracy; and by conspiracy Dessalines perished. Unable any longer to endure his barbarity, and having likewise reason to believe that he was, at that moment, meditating an extensive proscription, the leading officers of the state and of the army formed a plan to depose the tyrant. Their measures were taken with so much secresy, that he who was the object of them, had not a suspicion of the danger which was impending over his head. On the 17th of October, 1806, the conspirators put their scheme into execution. Dessalines was surrounded by his enemies, at the head quarters, and, while he was endeavouring to escape, he received a mortal wound, of which he immediately expired.

The death of Dessalines not only put an end to the empire of Hayti, but likewise produced a division of it, and a civil war. In the north, the reins of government were assumed by Christophe, who, for the moment, contented himself with the modest title of chief of the government of Hayti.

In the south, Petion seized the opportunity of asserting his claims to at least an equal share of the vacant authority. The capital of Christophe was Cape François; that of Petion was Port au Prince.

Christophe, who is believed to have been born in Grenada, was the friend of Toussaint, and not wholly unlike to him in character. He was brave, tolerably skilful, attentive to his moral duties, hospitable and generous; with a respectable share of natural talents, and more dignity of manner than was to be expected from one whose early life had been spent under circumstances of a painful and unpropitious kind. At the time when Dessalines fell, Christophe was the second in command.

Petion, who, under the late government, held the third rank, and was commander-in-chief at Port au Prince, was infinitely superior to his rival in acquired advantages. He was a mulatto, who had received his education in the military school at Paris, had lived long in polished society, was amiable in his manners, mild in his disposition, and fond of literature. As a military man he possessed a high reputation, and he was considered as the best engineer in St. Domingo.

One of the first acts of Christophe was to remove the restraints upon trade which his predecessor had so unwisely imposed. Complete security to persons and property was promised

to all who would visit the island for the purpose of commerce. The new chief had soon a favourable opportunity of propitiating the favour of the British cabinet, and he did not neglect it. In the southern part of St. Domingo some ill-disposed individuals had opened a correspondence with a disaffected party in Jamaica, and they hoped to excite a revolt in the latter colony. This plot was discovered by Christophe, who instantly arrested those by whom it was carried on. Pleased by this instance of his good faith, the British ministry issued, in February 1807, an order of council, by which English merchantmen, bound for Buenos Ayres and La Plata, were permitted to dispose of their cargoes in any of the ports of the blacks, to take on board the produce of the country, and either to return with their freightage to any port of the united kingdom, or to ship it in neutral vessels, to be sold in the settlements of hostile powers, and to bring, in neutral vessels, the proceeds of the sale into any harbour of Great Britain or Ireland. This step was beneficial to both parties, but especially to the Haytians, for whose staple articles it opened a safe and extensive market.

The imperial authority being abolished, it was thought necessary that another constitution should be framed. Accordingly a council, which consisted of the generals and the principal citizens, was held at Cape François; and the result of its

labours was a constitution, which was promulgated on the 17th of February, 1807. By this act the higher powers of government were entrusted, for life, to a chief magistrate, with the title of president and generalissimo of the land and sea forces, and the right of administering the finances, making peace and war, concluding treaties, proposing laws to the council of state, and giving his final sanction to them. On the president was also conferred the privilege of choosing his successor, but only from among the generals, and in a prescribed manner. Christophe was appointed the first president.

The council of state, which was the other branch of the government, was to be composed of nine members, of whom at least two-thirds were to be generals. Its business was to be, to receive the propositions of laws from the president, to give them a proper form, to fix the amount of taxes, to sanction treaties, to settle the mode of recruiting the armies, and to take an annual view of the receipts, the expenditure, and the resources of the country.

Every individual was declared to be free, slavery was for ever abolished, central schools were ordered to be established in all the divisions, and, though the Roman catholic religion was proclaimed to be that of the state, a full toleration was extended to all other religions. On the country being in danger, every Haytian, between

the ages of sixteen and fifty, was liable to be called into the field. At the same time, the framers of this code wisely made known their resolution not to give any disturbance to the possessors of the neighbouring colonies, but to confine their military efforts strictly to the preservation of their own territory.

It would not be difficult to criticise this production of the black law-givers, and to demonstrate its faults; but candour must own, that it was not without such a share of merit as to render it by no means discreditable to its authors, and even that, all circumstances considered, it was as good as at that period could be expected, or, perhaps, could be executed, in the disturbed and semi-civilised situation of the Haytian people.

On the day of his accession to the presidentship, Christophe addressed to the army and people a proclamation, which was worthy of praise for its sound sense, and its moderate and dignified language. It was energetic without being bombastic, and firm without being haughty or boastful. It concluded in the following words: "After having re-established religion, defeated immorality, restored manners, and encouraged agriculture and trade, we shall have still great labours to encounter. We must not neglect the use of arms. The enemy watches our movements, and observes our proceedings. We have as yet no guarantee of the affections of our friends.

We must bind the latter to us by treaties; we must be ready to meet the former in the field. Abandoned to ourselves, our resources are in ourselves. They are in you, soldiers, who are ready generously to spill your blood, sooner than yield to a haughty enemy your liberty, which is the reward of your courage! They are in you, inhabitants and industrious cultivators, from whom the state derives its wealth! It is your union, your submission to the laws, which are to be the cement and bond of our independence.

"The line of politics which foreign powers will pursue with respect to us, is not yet manifested. Whatever it may be, let us place ourselves in such a situation, that, without holding out any defiance to them, we may, at the same time, have nothing to dread from those who may entertain hostile intentions.

"Let those who wish a political connection with us, or who would enjoy the advantage of our commerce, find an equitable reciprocity. To the rest let us offer battle and death.

"At the same time that we are occupied with these thoughts, let us never forget that the safety of a free people is best maintained by arms. Its cultivation employs a part of our fellow-citizens: let us, however, remember that we are all soldiers, and that they have been warlike nations alone who have been able to preserve their liberty. Let us call to mind, that a handful of Greeks,

devoted to their country, confounded the rage of a million of barbarians, who endeavoured to wrest from them their liberty. Let us swear to observe our sacred constitution, to cause it to be observed, and to perish sooner than allow it to be violated in the smallest degree."

It was amidst the din of war that the new constitution had its birth. The two rivals for power carried on the contest against each other with the most determined hatred. Christophe had, at first, the ascendency. On the first of January, 1807, he totally defeated Petion, in a desperate battle, which was fought at Cibert. The vanquished chief saved himself with great difficulty, and was pursued to Port au Prince. Christophe immediately laid siege to the city, which for some time he closely pressed; but, either baffled by the superior skill of Petion, or, as he affirmed, finding it necessary to return to the north, in consequence of the plots which were there carrying on, and the number of conspirators in his own army, he raised the siege and retired to Cape François.

The war between the two chiefs, was, however, continued for some years with unabating fury, though with balanced success. Neither party was sufficiently strong to overpower the other, or even to obtain any decisive advantage. The theatre of the contest was chiefly confined

to two points; the one was the north-western peninsula, where the troops of Petion held the posts of Port de Paix and Cape Nicholas Mole; the other was the central country, on each side of the Artibonite, including the towns of Gonaives, Artibonite, Arcahayé and St. Marc, the latter of which was struggled for with great pertinacity. At length, after repeated efforts, Christophe succeeded in expelling the enemy from the north-western peninsula; Port de Paix being first reduced, and subsequently, at a long interval, the important post of Cape Nicholas Mole. It was not till the month of October, 1810, four years after the commencement of the struggle, that the Mole was surrendered. This conquest secured the authority of Christophe over the whole northern part of the island. Even this, however, was not accomplished without many obstinate conflicts, and much bloodshed.

As the enemy had derived great advantages from their naval superiority, Christophe strenuously exerted himself in the creation of a maritime force. His exertions were crowned with success. At the period when the Mole capitulated, his fleet consisted of one frigate of 44 guns, nine sloops of war, eleven brigs mounting from 14 to 22 guns, and a number of schooners, each manned by about one hundred men. It was mainly by the assistance of this

squadron, which prevented the garrison from receiving succours, that he was enabled to accomplish the reduction of the Mole.

From the epoch of the capture of the Mole the war, though it still existed in name, ceased to exist in fact. The rivals seem to have discovered that nothing was to be gained, and that much might be lost, by perseverance in hostilities; as every wound which they inflicted upon each other, only rendered them less capable of opposing the common enemy, who, sooner or later, would repeat his attacks upon the liberty which they had so hardly acquired. By a sort, therefore, of tacit agreement, each party desisted from assailing his antagonist; and, though no regular peace has yet been concluded, nor so much as a truce made, not a hostile act has been committed during the last eight years. The river Artibonite, which runs through the heart of the Haytian territories, seems to form the boundary of the two negro states.

With a policy which cannot be too much commended, Christophe, on the breaking out of the war between Spain and France, dispatched succours to the Hispaniolan Spaniards, who had taken up arms; and these succours enabled Don Juan Sanchez Ramirez to undertake offensive operations against the French garrisons, which occupied the city of Santo Domingo and other posts. It was, in truth, an object of no small

consequence to the negroes, that the French should be driven from their strong holds in the Spanish division of St. Domingo; it being well known that the enemy designed ultimately to avail themselves of those holds, for the purpose of raising and training a native force, which might put it in their power to contend once more, and under better auspices, for the sole possession of the island.

For a moment St. Domingo appeared to be on the eve of being disturbed by the restlessness of fresh competitors for authority. Rigaud, notorious for his opposition to the British, and afterwards to Toussaint, landed at Aux Cayes, on the seventh of April, 1810. He is said by some to have been invited over by a faction, which accused Petion of want of energy; by others he is affirmed to have been an agent of Napoleon. Almost as soon as he set his foot on shore he commenced his intrigues. He did not, however, live to accomplish the mischief which he designed, and which he was so well calculated to perform. His decease took place not long after his arrival. In the mountains of the centre of the island, another candidate for power started up about the same time, in the person of Philip Dos, who had been the friend of Toussaint. His leading principle is asserted to have been the renouncing of all war, except for the purpose of self-defence. As nothing has since been heard

of him in this country, it seems probable that he failed in his project of establishing an independent government.*

Either to Christophe himself, or to his subjects, it now appeared that the title which he bore was too humble for the station which he held. The council of state was in consequence assembled, to deliberate upon the propriety of investing the ruler of northern Hayti with the name of sovereign. In order to give as much weight as possible to the result of its deliberations, the council invited to its meetings the principal military and naval officers, and such of the citizens as, from influence or talent, were the most worthy of being consulted upon this important occasion. In this convocation it was decided that Christophe should be declared king, and that the monarchy should be hereditary in his family, excluding females, and giving to the monarch the privilege of adoption from the family of any of the princes, in case of his remaining without heirs male. An order of nobility was likewise to be established. Such regulations as were rendered necessary by the new state of things

* The papers and histories, of the period here treated of, mention vaguely the attempt of Philip Dos to establish a third state. But, after all, there is, perhaps, no foundation for the story. If the attempt were really made, it seems probable that the person who made it was a seceder from the party of Petion, and that he was bought over to relinquish his design and espouse the cause of Christophe.

were also made, but the constitutional act of 1807 still continued to be, in other respects, the law of Hayti. These changes were announced to the people, by the council of state, in a sensible and well written address, assigning the reasons which had induced the assembly to prefer the kingly form of government to every other form. It was on the fourth of April that the proceedings of the council were formally communicated to Christophe, who thenceforth assumed the regal title, with the name of Henry the First.

The creation of four princes, seven dukes, twenty-two counts, thirty barons, and ten knights, was the first act of sovereignty which Henry performed. A great majority of the peers were, of course, military and naval officers; the remainder belonged to the civil department. Domains, inalienable and descending to the eldest male, were granted for the support of their dignity. Though the edict, by which this hereditary nobility was created, pointed out the army and the navy as the chief sources whence the ranks of the nobles were in future to be recruited, it nevertheless declared that all persons who had done important services to the country should be eligible to obtain rank, and that virtue and talent should be considered as having the most valid claims. The dress of the nobility was fixed by another edict; and, though it was perhaps deficient in taste, it was at least abundantly splendid. As a further

reward and stimulus to bravery, a military order, to be called the order of St. Henry, was also established, with all the accustomed apparatus of grand crosses, commanders, knights, ribbons, stars and inscriptions, and moreover an annual pecuniary allowance to each of the members.

The household of the king was framed upon an extensive scale, and, indeed, presented to the view such a formidable list of officers, and such a display of pageantry, as might, in that kind of merit, have contested the precedence with any European court. The black race has been always said to be fond of finery, and, in this instance, it afforded strong testimony to the truth of the assertion.

The coronation took place on the second of June, in the most gorgeous manner, at Cape François, in the midst of the army and of the deputations from all parts of the north of Hayti. The ceremony was performed in the Champ de Mars, to which spot Henry and his consort were drawn in a carriage, by eight white horses. Nothing was omitted which could render the scene as magnificent as possible. Like Napoleon, he put the crown upon his own head, before he gave it into the hands of the archbishop to be replaced there. To the sumptuous dinner which was given, on this occasion, all the English and American merchants were invited. The health of the newly crowned sovereign having been drunk by

one of the British officers, Henry, in his turn, gave as a toast, "my dear brother, George the Third; may his life be preserved by the great Ruler of the universe, and may he oppose an invincible obstacle to the unbridled ambition of Napoleon, and remain always the constant friend of Hayti!" The rejoicings were continued for five days, during which period nothing was thought of but processions, reviews, and feasts, dancing and singing, fireworks and illuminations. At length, on the seventh of June, the civil and military deputies returned to their homes, the people resumed their ordinary occupations, and the monarch was left at liberty to direct his attention to the duties of government.

Hoping, perhaps, that the inhabitants of the south would be seduced by the splendour of royalty, Christophe addressed to them a proclamation, offering a full amnesty, and holding out to them the promise of peace and prosperity under his mild dominion. His appeal to them was, however, made in vain; and, fortunately for his subjects, he had too much good sense to attempt to enforce it by arms. Instead of drawing the sword, he wisely occupied himself in ameliorating the laws, encouraging agriculture, and raising fortifications in the interior, to stop the progress of any invader who might chance to effect a landing. New palaces were built, a city, called Sans Souci, intended for the future capital, was

founded, and many other works of utility or ornament were commenced. As if to obliterate, as far as possible, the vestiges of every thing which could remind the natives that France once ruled there, the name of Cape François was changed to that of Cape Henry; and to ensure a ready compliance with the change, the very effectual mode was adopted of ordering all letters to be destroyed which were directed to the city under its former denomination.

The southern part of the island, under Petion, still adhered to the republican institutions. But it was in a no less flourishing condition than the northern division, and its chief laboured diligently to promote every plan which could conduce to the safety and comfort of those who had selected him as their leader. The military force was carefully kept up, the laws were duly administered, and strenuous exertions were made to disseminate instruction among all classes of the people.

Nothing which is worthy of notice occurred in the Haytian states, till the restoration of Lewis the Eighteenth to the throne of France. This event revived the hopes of the ex-colonists, who immediately began to besiege the ministry and the chamber of deputies. To the latter they presented a petition, which was referred to a committee to report upon. The chairman of the committee was General Desfourneaux, who

had once served in St. Domingo, and the report which he brought up furnished a curious proof how far the desire of gain can prompt men to go, and how far that for which they eagerly wish, can render them blind to the obstacles which are opposed to them. This report seemed to consider it as almost certain that Christophe and Petion would gladly acknowledge the sovereignty of Lewis, in which case they, and other black chiefs, were to be rewarded by marks of honour, and pecuniary advantages. As, however, the blacks might possibly resist, it was recommended to send a sufficient military and naval force to occupy the colony. At all events it would, it was added, be proper to send thither an army strong enough to put the proprietors in possession of their estates, and secure them in that possession. It was also suggested that various laws would be necessary, as well with reference to the blacks who were already there, as to those who must hereafter be imported."

These last words were of ominous import: they clearly shewed that the old system was again to be acted upon. There can, indeed, be little doubt that the French cabinet looked forward to the renewing of the black population by fresh cargoes from Africa, and that this was the unworthy motive which induced it so pertinaciously to contend for the privilege of carrying

on, during a period of five years, the detestable traffic in slaves. It is but too probable that many of the leading men in France sanctioned all the schemes of the ex-colonists, were well aware that their object could not be attained by negociation, and would not have shrunk from attempting to recover the colony, even at the dreadful price of exterminating the whole of the negroes and men of colour by whom it was now inhabited. There is, in truth, no way of vindicating their understandings but at the expense of their hearts; for it seems impossible that they could seriously believe that men who, for nearly twenty years, had enjoyed freedom and property, and in many instances rank and power, would voluntarily submit to grovel in their former degraded condition, and bare their backs to the scourge, merely to gratify those whom they at once detested as having been their oppressors, and despised as being vanquished and fugitive.

The black rulers, meanwhile, had been looking forward to the issue of the contest in Europe with no small anxiety. It was quite apparent that affairs were in such a situation, that a peace was not far distant; and as France, under any sovereign, was likely to be hostile, it behoved them to be prepared for the worst. In both divisions of the island, therefore, defensive measures were vigorously pursued.

The news of the downfal of Napoleon was received with pleasure, as it was probably hoped that, instructed by adversity, a Bourbon would be less ambitious, and less prodigal of the blood of his subjects, than the deposed emperor had been. In a dispatch, dated on the 10th of June, which Henry's secretary for foreign affairs addressed to M. Peltier, the secretary declared his master's readiness to admit French vessels into the Haytian ports, and to come to a good understanding with the restored monarch; but, at the same time, he explicitly stated that Henry would treat with France only on the footing of perfect independence.

The Haytians were not long before they perceived that monarchical France was not more disposed than imperial France had been to view them with a friendly eye. In order to rouse all their energy, Henry, on the 15th of August, addressed to them an animated proclamation, which while it still held out a hope that France would act in an amicable manner, called upon the people, in the event of hostilities, to strain every nerve for the maintenance of their cherished liberty. No fear, not even a doubt, was expressed as to the result of the conflict; and the French were fore-warned that, if they chose to wage a war, it must be a war of extermination, as no quarter would either be given or received.

This was followed, on the 18th of September,

by a manifesto, from king Henry, which was so excellent a composition that it would not have disgraced the pen of the ablest European diplomatist or minister. It retraced the events which had occurred in Hayti, since the period of the government of Toussaint, eloquently depicted the cruelties of which the French had been guilty, and solemnly protested that the Haytians would rather bury themselves under the ruins of their country, than suffer the smallest infringement of their political rights. Energetic as was the language of this state paper, it was, nevertheless, uniformly temperate and dignified.

In the south, as in the north, every Haytian was resolved to perish sooner than again to become a slave. The arsenals were filled with torches, and public notice was given that, on the landing of the enemy, the cities, and every thing in them which was not portable, were to be given up to the flames, and the inhabitants were to retire to the mountains. "Look at the example of Moscow!" was the general cry. "Had Moscow not been destroyed, Napoleon would still be the despot of Europe." It was among the hills that the Haytians resolved to make the stand for their independence, and all the strong holds which they had erected there were immediately filled with ammunition, and with cured provisions.

Previously to drawing the sword, the French

ministry appears to have thought that it would be decorous to try if the blacks could not be persuaded into slavery. Three commissioners, to make the trial, were appointed by Malouet, the minister of the colonies, who was known to be a deadly enemy to the freedom of the negroes. His agents were happily chosen. The first was Dauxion Lavaysse, once a revolutionist, always a "measureless liar," a man in whom folly and knavery seemed to contend for the mastery; the second was Colonel Franco Medina, a native of St. Domingo, a traitor, who had served in the black army, and betrayed his trust to Le Clerc; the third was one Draverman, an individual who, as nothing is known of him, was probably less wicked and obnoxious than his fellows.

Lavaysse did not choose to trust himself in the hands of the blacks, but securing himself at Jamaica, he sent to Henry, on the first of October, a letter, which was a truly senseless production; an odd compound of cajoling and of menace. Among other things, he laboured to convince Christophe that it was better for him to be "an illustrious servant of the great sovereign of the French, than a chief of revolted slaves." The insult which the last words of this sentence offered to the black race, proves how well qualified this envoy was for the delicate duty which he had to perform. Nor did his absurdity end here. In case of non-compliance with the sort of sum-

mons which was now sent, he threatened the Haytians that the slaves, which France was then purchasing on the coast of Africa, would be converted into soldiers to exterminate them; and lest this threat should not be sufficiently formidable, he reinforced it by an impudent falsehood and calumny, which was only not wonderful as coming from him. "Do not," he said, "deceive yourself, general. The sovereigns of Europe, although they have made peace, have not returned the sword into the scabbard. Doubtless, you are not ignorant of what every body in Europe knows, although a thing not yet diplomatically published—that the principal articles of the compact which all the European sovereigns have just signed, on their royal honour, is to unite their armies, if need be, and to lend each other all necessary aid, in order to destroy all the governments which have been the offspring of the French revolution, whether in Europe, or in the new world. Know also that it is Great Britain, who is the centre of and principal party to this convention, to which, a few months sooner or later, every government will find it necessary to submit: every government and every potentate that shall refuse so to submit, must expect to be treated as traitors and robbers." With this curious epistle, Lavaysse enclosed a copy of a letter which he had already dispatched to Petion upon the same subject.

To conduct the negociation Mediña was sent to Cape Henry by Lavaysse. As this emissary was unfurnished with any credentials from the French government, he was arrested on his landing, and his papers were seized. Those papers are said to have fully established the fact, that to spread discord and revolt among the Haytians was the real object of his pretendedly pacific mission. He was, therefore, sent for trial as a spy, before a special military tribunal.

The letters of Lavaysse were laid by Henry before an extraordinary council which was convoked for the purpose, and which was desired to deliberate calmly on their contents. The council answered by an unanimous address, drawn up in the most spirited language, expressive of utter abhorrence of the French, and offering their lives, their properties, and every thing that was dear to them, for the service of their sovereign and their country. Both in this address, and in the reply which Henry's secretary gave to Lavaysse, the calumny against England was indignantly pointed out, and was censured as such with deserved severity.

With Petion, Lavaysse was not more successful than with Christophe. He was, indeed, invited to Port au Prince, politely received, and patiently listened to; but nothing farther could he obtain, though he endeavoured to win over his hearers by violent invectives against the

" Corsican, the bashaw Le Clerc, and the other robbers who were sent to Hayti, in the year 1802, by the usurper." In vain did he blasphemously assure them that Lewis, " like the Divinity of whom he was the representative," saw with equal affection all his subjects, of whatever colour they might be. The general assembly which had been called together to receive his propositions, unanimously rejected them, on the 21st of November; but, with a spirit of liberality which cannot fail to be admired, the French agent was informed that, wishing to re-establish commercial relations with France, and to testify respect for the character of Lewis the Eighteenth," the Haytian republic was willing to fix the basis of a pecuniary indemnity for the losses which the French colonists had sustained, and must continue to suffer, in consequence of the separation of Hayti from France." This offer was the more generous, inasmuch as it was certainly not prompted by any feeling of fear. Thus terminated the mission of Lavaysse, who took his departure from the island in the beginning of December. The circumstances of the negociation, and the result of it, were officially communicated to the people and the army by Petion, in an address, which did equal honour to his head and his heart, as it displayed a happy mixture of calmness and firmness, of solid reasoning and of polished diction.

As soon as they became known in Paris, the proceedings of Lavaysse were formally disowned by Lewis the Eighteenth, who declared him to have been merely authorised to collect such information as was necessary for the guidance of the French government. There is, however, not the shadow of a doubt that, though the monarch was kept in ignorance of the fact, the minister, Malouet, did give secret instructions to his agent, to play the part which he so awkwardly played.

This method having failed, the French cabinet determined to resort to force, and, accordingly, preparations were made for an expedition, which was intended to sail early in the year 1815. The return of Napoleon, however, saved the Haytians from this meditated attack. He himself, after having abolished the slave trade, endeavoured to prevail on them to become once more a colony of France; but his propositions were unhesitatingly and scornfully rejected. Short as was his reign, it was, nevertheless, productive of beneficial consequences to the Haytians. The government of the Bourbons was speedily re-established, but, by putting an end to the slave trade, he had deprived it of one of its most formidable weapons. Were conquest even practicable, it would be of little utility to conquer a colony of which the possession must be obtained by rendering it a desert, and to cultivate the soil of

which, myriads of slaves could no longer be torn from their native land. The idea of employing force seems, therefore, to have been given up. Still, however, there was a lingering, though foolish hope, that something might yet be accomplished by other means. In July, 1816, several commissioners, all of them ex-colonists, and all of them said to be obnoxious characters, were appointed to administer the civil and military affairs of St. Domingo. They approached the coast in an American vessel, and, that they might not be outdone in absurdity by their predecessors, they sent on shore letters addressed to Monsieur General Christophe. Their letters were, of course, returned unopened. In a second attempt they were not more successful. Convinced by these two rebuffs that nothing could be done, they at length bent their course to Europe, having gained only the vexation of their disappointment, and the contempt of those whom they were commissioned to seduce.

Since that period Hayti has remained in that state of tranquillity which furnishes few materials for the historic page. Early in the year 1818 Petion died, and was quietly succeeded, as president, by General Boyer. His death is said to have been voluntary; he having taken the strange resolution of obstinately refusing every kind of medicine and nourishment. The cause which induced him to act in this singular manner re-

mains unknown. For a while this event seemed likely to destroy the peace of Hayti, as it was believed to be the intention of Christophe to avail himself of this opportunity to attempt the subjugation of the Haytian republic. Fortunately for humanity, if such were ever his intention, he speedily relinquished it, and both divisions of the black dominion have since continued in undisturbed repose.

LETTER CONCERNING HAYTI.

LETTER CONCERNING HAYTI.

The latest information which has been received in England, concerning Hayti, is contained in the following letter, which is extracted from the twentieth number of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. As the Editor of that work states the Letter to have been addressed to a friend of his "by a naval officer of high character," it is probable that the details which it gives are generally correct. It is, therefore, inserted here, as a supplement to the sketch of the History of St. Domingo.

H. M. S. —, Port Royal, Sept. 1, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR,

I PROMISED you, if I could give you any information from Hayti, I would send it. I am just returned from paying the king a visit at Cape Henry. I send you, by Lieutenant Bunce of the marines, in the Pique, all the Haytian publications; and I am sure you will be pleased to hear that the Baron Vastey is compiling a very full history of King Henry, from his earliest days, with a large appendix of original letters and papers. Mr. Steevens wished to have the documents sent him to complete a history, but the king desired him to be told, that he wished one of his own subjects to have the

credit of writing it, but that it should be sent him after publication, with whatever other documents he might wish. I told Baron Dupuey (who is every thing at the Cape, what you may call the king's *factotum*, and certainly far the ablest man he has), that I hoped they meant to give a true and fair account of the king's early years, before he became a conspicuous character. He answered, that the king, when Baron Vastey and he were speaking about the history, said, "my desire is, that it may, in what regards my life, be a plain and clear statement of facts, and that those who knew me in early life, when they see those facts in the book, may vouch for their *truth*." If they really do this, it will not only be curious but valuable, for few more extraordinary characters have appeared.—He has risen from a slave at St. Kitt's, where he was born, to be a steward in one of Count D'Estaing's fleet, and from that to uncontrolled power and riches, beyond what any individual almost ever possessed. When in good humour he calls himself an Englishman.

To account for my kind and friendly reception at the Cape, it is necessary to say that since my former visit in 1814, the king has always remembered me.

Strong impressions have gone out all over the world against this man, of his tyranny, cruelty, avarice, and injustice, both to his own subjects, and those strangers who reside as merchants in his dominions—but always remember one thing in reading accounts of his atrocities, that there are three sets of men whose interest it is to hold him up as a monster. The republicans, his neighbours, they have more justice on their side than the other two—the proprietors of slaves and advocates for slavery all over the world—and the merchants who trade with him; they do it, to keep others, by fear, away, that they may monopolise the trade. This was the first cause of our opening a correspondence, and that has had the desired effect in a great measure.

In 1814, I was sent by Admiral Brown to visit Cape

Henry, for the purpose of ascertaining the true state of our commerce with Hayti; for there were strange reports in circulation, both to windward and at Jamaica. It was said that neither the persons nor the property of our merchants were safe; that on the most trivial occasions he threw them into prison, and seized and confiscated their property—in short, such was the impression upon me, that I actually thought that my person was endangered by landing. However, I ventured, and once on shore, I remained all the time the ship lay there, and certainly was not a little astonished to find myself, after all, in the midst of a gentlemanlike well-informed set of merchants. And the following report, which I gave Admiral Brown, will show you the state of that body of men:—"According to your orders, I first of all communicated privately with the principal merchants, and then with these in a body at a public meeting. Their answer was unanimous. (Some of them, at that time, had the experience of eight years.) 'We conceive our persons and property under the protection of the king to be as safe as at Kingston, unless the French land an expedition, and then he has given us notice that all property, public and private, will be burnt with the city, but that he will give every protection to our persons, and we have the most perfect confidence in his promises.' And they added, 'we hope the admiral will send a man of war frequently to pay us a visit; it gives us consequence here.'" Such, in 1814, were the sentiments I found the merchants impressed with, and such they are at this moment; nor could I hear of one act of injustice that could fairly be attributed to the king. He is sharp in his dealings, and in making them fulfil their contracts. But it is almost needless to mention how far a *merchant adventurer* will go for gain, and how necessary it is to watch them. They have now nearly given up attempting to take him in by outward show. He has too good judges about him; and being a good one himself, and when they

least expect it, seeing every thing, it would be a bad job for them to bring bad goods. I was asked by one of the principal merchants in Kingston, who had lost a good deal by the trade with Cape Henry, and who, of course, attributed that loss to the king, will you tell me of one man, Captain ——— who has made money by trading there? I answered, will you tell me, Mr. Pavishaw, of one merchant that ever made money by sending his goods to a market where double its consumption is thrown in annually, and from which there is no other outlet, except by re-shipping your goods back to England?

In the following remarks, I intend just to write you what I have seen myself or heard from the best authority. It would be presumption in me to venture to give the character of this most extraordinary man,—so you must draw your own conclusions from the facts.

The king is in his person what in England you would call a fine portly looking man, about five feet ten inches. He is now growing stout, and on horseback, where he certainly looks the best, has much the appearance of old George. His dress, except on state days, is very like the Windsor uniform, without lace or star. He is quite black, with a manner and countenance, when in good humour (and I have never seen him in any other), very intelligent, pleasant and expressive—his features are much that of his countrymen—his nose rather long, but flat at the nostrils—his lips are not thick—his eyes, except when in a rage, rather small, but quick—his forehead, which gives so much character to his countenance, high—when I saw him last, his hair was gray, and until he remarked it to me himself (for I thought he wore powder), I did not observe that it is now grown quite white. I am told by those who have seen him in one of his gusts of passion, that it can only be compared to a hurricane for its fury; but fortunately the fit now comes very seldom, and does not last long. A friend, who has seen a great deal

of him, told me he one day saw him in one—his form absolutely dilated, his countenance changed, and his eyes became enlarged and rolled in his head. He looked like a demon—it was over in five minutes, expending itself in words, and he was then as quiet as a child. None but the queen dare go near him in those paroxysms.

Since my last visit, he has entered into a close and intimate alliance with Mr. Wilberforce and his party. His three great advisers for the improvement of his subjects are Messrs Wilberforce, Steevens, and Clarkson. He has many others, amongst whom is Sir John Sinclair.

His avowed intention is a religious, moral, and political change. How far he is sincere, and how far he possesses talents capable of bringing about so great a change, time will best show. He appears to me a man possessing strong powers of mind, attended with strong passions. He is wholly without education, and even now can read very badly, and can only write enough to sign his name. But to make up for that, he has been brought up in the school of danger, difficulties, and intrigue, where his deep policy and knowledge of human character have shone as conspicuously as his courage and talent as a soldier.

It is *his* mind, and his alone, that governs all; he has the ablest men of his kingdom employed about his person, but they are mere executors of his will. One proof of his being neither a very changeable or cruel man, is, that almost all the great officers of the palace, who were there four years ago, are there now; and they bear, generally speaking, the characters of good and just men. And if he is in himself cruel to his subjects, he takes care to punish with the greatest severity that crime in others.

There is one striking part of his character,—he never forgives a fault. He even sent his own son, the prince royal, a prisoner to the citadel, to show he paid no regard to high rank. But before you judge too severely of him for this,

think who he has to govern—a set of slaves, brought up without any principles of either religion or morality, and who have, in the sanguinary and dreadful contest for liberty, been accustomed, by the example of their enemies, to all sorts of butcherous and dreadful crimes. And well did their cruel and faithless masters, generally speaking, deserve their fate—Till this spirit, by time, &c. dies away, I think he is the only man who can govern them, to do them real and lasting good.

The gentleman before mentioned, who has certainly had the best opportunity of seeing him in private life, says he is a most affectionate father of a family, and that his children in his presence are under no fear or restraint. He has in his palace several little children, the orphans of old officers of his—they are always running about the room, when he has no business, and feeling his pockets for bon-bons.

When Dr. Burt was bleeding the princess royal, he came into the room and took the bason, and when Dr. Burt wished to relieve him from it, he said, Remember I am a father. There are many other little traits of a good and an affectionate heart in domestic life. I only give these trifling anecdotes to show you that the man is not a devil in a human shape. He is very much attached to the queen, who, by what every person says of her, deserves it. She is said to be of a most amiable character, and her charities are most extensive—she is plain in her manners, and quite jet black. Her two daughters, as the lady told me that attended them as preceptress for a year (an American lady), are very accomplished, speaking English well—in their manners particularly engaging and affable to all about them—they are sixteen and eighteen.

When I left Port Royal this last time, I was told by a captain of a man of war, that the strangers were confined to within the Barriers, except on Sunday, and then they were allowed to go out to dinner to a small place they had about

four miles from town. What did I find?—that strangers were allowed to go out at all times as far as 18 miles without a passport; they were allowed to go out shooting; in short, that they did as they liked. They asked the king for permission to take a house in the country to dine at now and then; he immediately gave them a place, 4 miles out of town, called Haut du Cap, an excellent house, beautiful garden, and 100 acres of fine land for pasture, or any use they chose to put them to. One of his courtiers, some time afterwards, wanted to buy it, and he said, it was no longer his, he had given it to the strangers. I told the *strangers* that the king ought to take it from them they kept it in such bad order.

He is now building a college at Sans Souci, where it is his intention to have professors of the different sciences from England. They, like all beginners, were too sanguine, and thought that nothing else was necessary than to have out all kinds of learned doctors. They were going to teach their boys Latin, Greek; in short, they were at once to rival our colleges. However, as this mania wore off, Baron Vastey, who has the management, began to see that he was all wrong, and that they must creep and walk before they could run, and now they are proceeding on rationally, until the college is built. He has established four schools under Englishmen on the Lancasterian system—one at Cape Henry, Sans Souci, Gonaives, and Port au Paix.

Mr. Gulliver, at Cape Henry, came out two years ago—he was a monitor at one of the establishments in the city road—he is a very clever fine young man, and deserving the good opinion the king has of him—his school has 177 boys. I was much astonished at the wonderful progress that was made by many in spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic—they did sums in addition in the most perfect manner above 400 millions. It is from this school he takes his masters for the small towns and villages, and the cleverest of those, of

good connections, are sent to learn Latin and Mathematics with Mr. ——, the clergyman, who is, I believe, a good teacher. It will be as well to mention to you now the opinions of the professor of anatomy, Dr. Stuart (a man in whose judgment I should place the most perfect reliance, and who is really a truly public benefit to the whole kingdom), and Mr. Gulliver, upon the natural capacities of the blacks. "There is no doubt that they are quick at learning the early rudiments of education, and have wonderful memories, but the grand question, it appears, still remains to be solved, viz. how far they have powers of reasoning, &c." You will understand what they mean. Many mulattoes are found very able men—both Barons Dupuey and Vastey are so; also Count Limonade, the secretary. I was delighted to see a little flat nosed beetle-browed black boy, about 11 years old, get above all the big fellows at the first going off, and keep the head of the class throughout the whole trial; from his accuracy and perfection in every change of subject, he deserved it. Mr. Gulliver has them in great order, and, I am sorry to say they require it; for they are brought up, notwithstanding every thing, very loose in their principles. The king, if he wishes thoroughly to succeed, must form the girls into schools, and so try to mend them. He has, in his late journey through his dominions, married them wherever he went by ranks, carrying a clergyman with him. This is what may be called a rough commencement of his moral system.

Sans Souci is the next school,—this is more select, the schoolmaster, a young Aberdeen collegian, is said to be of very considerable talents, and to have got a regular college education. He is also tutor to the prince-royal. This youth's character is so differently represented that I do not know what to think of him—he is not yet 15 years old, very large they say, quite as large as his father—not wanting in talent, but prefers being on horseback to studying Euclid—liberal of

his money when he has any—in short, he may turn out any thing yet for what people know.

Gonaives—the master of this place is dead, and an excellent riddance, by all accounts of those that knew him, it is. He was a most detestable canting hypocrite, but possessing considerable talents. He was secretary to one of the missionary societies. I was told by an English gentleman from Gonaives, that people are not very sorry for him.

Port au Paix—this is another bad bargain. The king found him drunk at 12 o'clock in the day amongst his scholars. He is certain of dying, I think, this season, from all accounts. The king has paid each of these teachers monthly 100 dollars, but the two good ones he has said shall go home independent.

Mr. ———, the clergyman, was usher at a school at Plymouth. He was ordained about a week before he left England and makes up in zeal, &c. &c. what he wants in sense. I believe he is not a bad schoolmaster, but to bring about a reformation in religion, it requires something very different,—he has so well managed his matters in three months, that none of the merchants or indeed any one visit him, and even the ladies have given up going to hear him preach. Mrs. ——— instructs the young ladies.

Dr. Stuart, the professor of anatomy, is come out with Mrs. Stuart—he appears a man about 28, and very clever—he has taken charge of the hospitals, and no one, not even the governor, dare ask him a question—he orders what he takes, and it is immediately given him—in short, he says, that there is nowhere in Europe a more liberally endowed hospital—if a common soldier requires two bottles of wine a day, he has it, and good. The king went round the hospital when I was there. I saw Dr. Stuart just after it; he was perfectly astonished. He said there was not an individual that he did not know by name, his character, his regimen,

disease, and every thing about him; and whenever he came to a blackguard (and the Doctor said every one he singled out had been a troublesome patient), he gave him a confounded crack on the head with his cane, saying ——, ——— there were above 300 in—the soldiers were all delighted to see him, and cut jokes—not so the officers, they looked frightened—the wards for the officers are really elegantly fitted up, and he sends them of all ranks there, from a duke downwards.

When I arrived here, I sent to him at his palace at Sans Souci to beg an audience. I wished very much to have gone out there. I am wrong. He first sent to know if I had any particular business with him, if I had, he would see me, but he had not recovered from the fatigue of his journey; at the same time an order came in to ask for every attention as his friend. I sent out to say I wished to see him very particularly —an answer to this brought an excuse, at which I was very much vexed—however, two of his principal officers came in immediately afterwards from him with a fine message, that if I was going to stay till Wednesday the king would be in town; of course, I staid, and on Thursday morning had a long audience. He was in high good humour, and received me as an old friend—we were obliged to speak through Baron Dupuey, as I cannot speak French well enough, and he wont speak English. We conversed a great deal upon the changes that had taken place since my last visit. In answer to something complimentary which I had said of his schools, he said, "My wish is that my fellow-citizens may be made capable, by education, of enjoying the constitution I intend for them; and if I live long enough, the world will see that this has always been nearest my heart, and occupied all my thoughts; but I must have time; we require it." He has offered, through England, twenty millions of dollars to France to make an independent peace, guaranteed by England, but without the guarantee, he would not give 20

dollars, and till that is done, all his towns and the country will be kept in the present ruinous state; for if they make the trial, the hour they land they will find themselves in a wilderness, without a house to cover them, or a morsel of food but what they bring with them. When I mentioned to him the talent which I thought I saw in the boys, he said, with a smile,—I think we shall be able to prove that we are capable of thinking and acting for ourselves. He certainly is bringing that great question to a fair trial, whether the negroes possess sufficient reasoning powers to govern themselves, or, in short, whether they have the same capacities as white men. And he is the only man, I think, in the world who could have given it so bold a trial.

In conversation one day with Baron Dupuey upon his treasures, he said, "It is true I do possess immense treasures, and I know men think I am hoarding it for the mere pleasure of hoarding; but they are mistaken; and whenever that treasure can be of use to my fellow-citizens, in procuring them liberty and independence, it is ready to come down from the citadel." What a pity that such grand plans should depend upon the life of one individual, but I hope he will live long enough to give stability to his government and system, but should any thing happen to him now, all would go in a minority to perfect ruin and barbarism.

On my taking leave, I said I had only one thing to regret not seeing Sans Souci and Citadel d'Henry: he said, when you come back you shall come out to me at Sans Souci, and I will go with you myself to the Citadel, but I have been pulling down a great deal, and making alterations and enlargements, and I dont like to show things in an unfinished state.

Sans Souci, which, in my last visit, was merely his country palace, is now become, I am told, a handsome town, with a larger population than Cape Henry. The palace, they say, has undergone great alterations and improvements,

and you may guess his magnificence when I tell you that the furniture for his grand hall of audience and state is expected daily from Paris, agreed for at one million of francs, and a German (for he will not allow a Frenchman to come) is to have 5000 dollars to fit it up.

The Citadel is hardly to be described. It appears from the sea at the distance of 15 miles, when clear of clouds, like one of those enchanted castles in old romances. It is built on the rocky pinnacle of the highest hill, said to be 1,500 feet above the level of the sea. He is now enlarging it, and I was told, but I do not believe it, that it will contain 20,000 men. I should guess 8000. He has a very handsome palace in it. Here are all his treasures. He is now building strong martello towers on the adjoining hills, which will give him a great command of hill country for raising food for his army. Except by treachery, I think it impregnable. There is no want of water, for it is always in the clouds.

The governor of Cape Henry, the Duke of Marmalade, a regular old black fellow, but an excellent and upright man, gave the officers and me a grand dinner. I took 12 of them and we sat down 36. We had two Dukes, three Counts, and four Barons, and all the strangers who had asked me to dinner. He gave us a most gentlemanlike dinner, with an elegant desert and good wine, and we drank all our toasts standing with three times three. They were very moderate, but this is not natural; they like a glass of wine. But the king might send for any of them, as they were all of his staff.

By the time you have got this far, I think you will be as tired of reading as my fingers are of writing. I send this through Mr. ———.

And believe me,

very truly, yours,

* * * *

P.S. Did I mention that the king is determined to change the language from bad French to English? In consequence of the schools, those who do speak English speak it most correctly. They wish to annihilate every trace of a Frenchman.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

A LIST

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES AND POSSESSIONS

IN

THE WEST INDIES,

AND ON

THE AMERICAN CONTINENT SOUTH OF THE GULPH OF MEXICO.

WEST INDIES.

Anguilla
Antigua
Bahamas
Barbadoes
Barbuda
Bermuda
Dominica
Grenada
Jamaica
Montserrat
Nevis
St. Christopher
St. Lucia *
St. Vincent
Tobago *
Tortola
Trinidad †
Virgin Gorda, and several of the adjacent islets.

AMERICA.

Berbice ‡
Demarara ‡
Essequibo ‡
Honduras.

* Ceded to Great Britain, by France, by the Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814.
† Ceded by Spain, to Great Britain, by the Treaty of Amiens.
‡ Ceded to Great Britain, by the King of the Netherlands, by a Convention, signed at London, August 13, 1814.

TABLES

No. I.

Showing the Mortality of Troops in the West Indies (exclusive of those who fell in Action) during seven Years, from 1796 to 1802 inclusive, compiled from Regimental Returns collected by John Sayer, Esq. Commissary in the Windward and Leeward Islands during that period.

	European Soldiers.				Negro Soldiers.			Officers.
	Largest Force	Medium Monthly Returns	Died	Per Cent.	Force.	Died.	Per Cent	Died.
1796, April	19,676	15,881	6,481	40¼	2 495	75	3	226
1797, April	13 627	11,503	3,766	32¾	3,080	118	4	99
1798, April	9,298	8,416	1,602	17½	3,055	252	8	38
1799, February	7 654	7,202	876	11¾	3,354	248	7³	24
1800, February	8,880	7,390	1 221	15½	4,320	286	6½	53
1801, February	11 715	10,315	2,340	22¾	4 604	276	6	104
1802, February	10,198	9,038	990	11	3,840	199	5	41
Original Army	19,676	—	17,173	—	—	—	—	590

No II.

Comparative Mortality of Troops in the West Indies, in different Months and Seasons of the Year.

		European Soldiers.						Negro Soldiers					
		Force	Died each Month.	Died each Season.	On Medium Force	Rate each Year	Per Cent	Force	Died each Month	Died each Season	On Medium Force	Rate each Year.	Per Cent
Rainy Season, Dry and Healthy Season	December	7,248	49	—	—	—	—	3,292	18	—	—	—	—
	January	7,170	44	—	—	—	—	3,277	14	—	—	—	—
	February	10,198	110	—	—	—	—	4,275	18	—	—	—	—
	March	10,195	94	—	—	—	—	4,253	17	—	—	—	—
	April	10,133	67	—	—	—	—	4,220	9	—	—	—	—
	May	10,065	53	—	—	—	—	4,211	17	—	—	—	—
	June	10,000	55	—	—	—	—	3,903	14	—	—	—	—
	July	9,731	48	520	9,800	780	8	3,825	17	119	3,892	180	4½
	August	8,880	82	—	—	—	—	3,759	28	—	—	—	—
	September	8,759	183	—	—	—	—	3,719	7	—	—	—	—
	October	8,385	105	—	—	—	—	3,461	7	—	—	—	—
	November	8,024	100	470	8,513	1,410	17	3,448	18	80	3,597	240	6¾
Medium of the Year		9,038	—	990	—	—	11¼	4,000	—	199	—	—	5

No III.

APPENDIX

An account of Slaves, Stock, and Acres of Land, in Jamaica, for the Year 1812.

PARISHES	Slaves.	Stock.	Acres of Land.
St. Andrew	16,570	5,181	83,427
St Ann	23,702	24,537	230,921
St Catherine . .	8,479	6,868	68,281
Clarendon	20,228	9,564	221,847
St David	7,203	2,208	50,834
St Dorothy	5,130	2,958	36,743
St. Elizabeth . .	22,260	23,237	276,838
St. George . .	13,400	3,710	93,100
Hanover . . .	23,167	7,201	105,198
St. James	24,970	6,628	127,743
St. John	6,690	1,133	65,795
Kingston	5,370	604	1,786
St Mary	25,781	16,010	122,557
Portland	7,410	1,640	50,263
Port Royal	7,980	223	29,126
St. Thomas in the East	26,291	5,371	143,475
St. Thomas in the Vale	11,973	2,503	78,029
Trelawny . . .	27,950	6,380	173,768
Vere	14,359	4,691	109,940
Westmoreland . . .	21,019	12,769	185,413
Total	319,912	143,419	2,254,387

No IV.

Account of the Population of the Island of Barbadoes, in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811.

PARISHES.	Number of Acres.	Number of White Inhabitants.			Number of Free Coloured Inhabitants.			Number of Slaves.		
		1809.	1810	1811.	1809.	1810.	1811.	1809.	1810	1811.
St. Michael . . .	9,560	5,313	5,161	5,406	1,668	1,466	1,551	12,262	12,001	12,293
Christ Church .	14,310	1,556	1,559	1,570	61	64	66	9,375	9,349	9,234
St. Philip	15,040	1,533	1,522	1,510	209	217	212	9,487	9,479	9,682
St John	8,630	856	892	898	42	70	74	4,888	4,948	4,949
St. Joseph . . .	5,940	1,061	1,055	1,066	75	76	77	3,045	3,106	3,136
St. Andrew . . .	7,923	540	555	571	180	177	165	3,368	3,245	3,249
St. Lucy	8,467	1,000	1,039	1,043	32	32	34	5,725	5,909	5,541
St. Peter	7,922	1,336	1,352	1,356	218	222	223	5,799	5,990	5,814
St. James	7,733	697	705	705	30	32	33	4,339	4,322	4,295
St. Thomas . . .	8,500	785	795	798	67	69	70	4,531	4,521	4,545
St. George . . .	10,795	889	882	869	81	101	105	6,530	6,459	6,394
Total	104,840	15,566	15,517	15,794	2,663	2,526	2,613	69,369	69,119	69,132

GEO. BECKWITH.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

No

Statement of the Population of the Government of Grenada, for the years undermentioned.

	1804	1810.				1811.			
	No. of Slaves	No. of Slaves	Whites	Coloured.	Total Souls	No. of Slaves	Whites	Coloured	Total Souls.
Town of St. George . .	2,261	2,385	177	349	2,911	2,317	272	698	3,287
Parish of St. George . . .	6,186	6,160	88	96	6,344	5,783	93	95	5,971
. . . . St John	2,563	2,383	44	66	2,493	2,353	79	65	2,497
. . . . St. Mark	1,991	1,731	19	11	1,761	1,737	22	38	1,797
. . . . St Patrick . .	4,919	4,935	81	60	5,076	4,878	67	94	5,039
. . . . St Andrew . .	5,697	5,224	108	78	5,410	5,078	77	114	5,269
. . St David . . .	2,215	2,299	38	42	2,379	2,275	47	35	2,357
Island of Carriacow	5,037	4,979	78	111	5,168	4,960	114	71	5,145
Total	30,871	30,096	633	813	31,542	29,381	771	1,210	31,362

The number of Acres in the Island are stated, by President Adye, to be as follows. St George's Parish 16,664 Acres —St John's 9,586 —St Mark's 5,801 —St Patrick's 10,510 —St Andrew's 21,197 —And St David's 10,780 —Total 74,538

No. VI

ST. VINCENT, MARCH 10, 1812.

Return of the Population of the Island of St. Vincent and its Dependencies, taken from Returns made in November last, by the Commissioners appointed for that purpose.

PARISHES.	White Persons.				Coloured Free Persons.			Total.	Negroes.	Grand Total.
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.			
Charlotte Parish	94	9	12	115	3	26	43	72	7,100	7,287
St. George . . .	266	136	121	523	173	394	460	1,027	8,060	9,610
St. Andrew . . .	36	13	16	65	8	28	42	78	2,258	2,401
St. Patrick . . .	38	22	18	78	36	67	66	169	2,388	2,635
St. David . . .	36	7	3	46	8	17	35	60	2,214	2,320
St. Vincent, Total	470	187	170	827	228	532	646	1,406	22,020	24,253
The Grenadines	89	60	77	226	9	22	45	76	2,900	3,202
										27,455

HERBERT P. COX,
Clerk of the Assembly.

APPEN-DIX.

No. VII.

An account of the total number of Slaves, White Persons, and Free Persons of Colour, in the Island of Dominica, taken in conformity to an Act of the Legislature, bearing date the 19th Day of February, 1811

Total number of Slaves	21,728
Ditto White Persons	1,325
Ditto Free Persons of Colour . .	2,988

Signed,

PERE P. BOURDIUX.

Treasurer

Roseau, Dominica,
Nov. 15, 1811.

No VIII.

Account of the Population of the Island of St. Christopher, returned April 17, 1812

	Whites	Free Coloured	Slaves
In the Parish of St George, Basseterre . .	864	1,172	3 7 o
. . . . St Peter, Basseterre . . .	108	25	2,782
. . . . St Mary, Cayon	65	29	2,322
. Christ Church, New Town .	41	54	2,063
. St John, Capisterre . . .	75	152	1,511
. St. Paul, Capisterre . . .	68	35	1,588
. St. Anne, Sandy Point . .	167	247	1,997
. St. Thomas, Middle Island .	179	276	2,411
. Trinity, Palmetto Point .	43	6	1,543
	1,610	1,996	19,586

Exclusive of the Garrison of Brimstone Hill

No. IX

Account of the Population of the Island of Nevis [illegible] 9th of January, 1812.

Slaves	9,376
Whites	501
Coloured Free Men . .	603
Total	10,130

No. X.

[illegible] of the increase of the Black and Coloured Population [illegible] in Servitude, in Antigua, between the years 1807 and 1812.

Returns made in the Treasurer's Office, for the year 1812 . .	30[illegible]5
Wanting from the year 1807 . .	[illegible]
Further expected to be returned from English Harbour	100
	[illegible]4[illegible]

Return of the Slaves in Antigua, in the year 1807 .	30[illegible]8
General increase since the year 1807 when the Abolition Act took effect .	1170
	31,458

No. XI

Account of the Population of the Island of Montserrat, returned May the 12th, 1812.

Slaves	6,537
Whites	444
Coloured Free Men . . .	402
Total	7,383

No. XII.

Account of the Population of New Providence, the principal of the Bahama Islands, taken in the month of December, 1810.

Whites	Free Blacks.	Free Coloured	Black Slaves.	Coloured Slaves.	Foreigners	Total
1,720	565	509	3,044	146	100	6,084

Account of the Population of the other Bahama Islands, taken from returns made by the Magistrates thereon, in June, 1812.

	Whites.	Free, Black, and Coloured	Slaves	Total
Harbour Island, and Keys adjacent	661	52	539	1,252
Watting's Island	21	5	486	512
Crooked Island	23	53	1,142	1,218
Long Island	141	67	734	942
Rum Key	7	0	177	184
Exuma, and Keys	96	55	1,261	1,412
Heneagua	1	0	28	29
Caicos	32	6	521	559
Turk's Islands	540	87	1,308	1,935
St Salvadore	54	58	662	774
Lleuthera	576	143	1,098	1,817
	2,152	526	7,956	10,634

New Providence	6,084
The other Islands	10,634
Total Population	16,718

No. XIII.

Return of the Population of the Bermuda Islands, February 6, 1812

Slaves, Male and Female	4,794
Whites, ditto	4,755
Coloured, ditto	451
Total	9,900

These Island contain nine Parishes, including 12,161 Acres

No XIV

Account of the Population of the Island of Trinidad in the Year 1811.

	White People				Free Coloured				Slaves						Indians				
			Children				Children				Children						Children		
	Men	Women	Males	Females	Men	Women	Males	Females	Men	Women	Males	Females	Runaways	Deaths	Men	Women	Males	Females	Total of Persons
British	506	253	284	230	516	894	1,014	1,024	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,455
Spanish	247	183	80	69	270	522	41	259	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,185
French	347	275	25	34	621	11	131	154	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,580
Maltese	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Corsicans	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20
Italians	17	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18
Portuguese	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Dutch	—	—	—	—	12	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13
Germans	22	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Swiss	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Americans	16	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	40
Chinese	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17
Danish	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Swedish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Indians	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Africans	—	—	—	—	53	36	—	—	2,019	1,530	96	44	33	74	410	470	210	233	736
Total	1,190	755	389	388	1720	1488	1186	1437	2,019	1,530	96	44	33	74	410	470	210	233	10,804

WILLIAM MOORE
Major General

APPENDIX.

No XV

Comparative Table of the Population of St Lucia, for the Year 1807 and 1810.

	Whites		Free People		Slaves		Diminution of Population
	1807	1810	1807	1810	1807	1810	
Castries	174	185	496	407	2,310	2,213	Whites 4 Free People 18 Slaves 570
Anse la Raye	61	50	124	160	573	531	
Soufriere	336	384	247	405	3,119	3,329	
Choiseul	106	132	197	238	1,111	1,126	
Laborie	132	116	185	142	1,663	1,545	
Vieux Fort	156	122	144	153	1,618	1,315	
Micoud	53	50	81	43	992	883	
Praslin	29	31	32	41	420	678	
D'Ennery	29	31	80	13	736	485	
Dauphin	60	38	124	126	942	763	
Gros Islet	78	71	186	147	1,483	1,531	
Total	1,214	1,210	1,896	1,878	14,967	14,397	

It is to be observed that in 1808, before the suppression of the Trade, there was sold a cargo of Slaves, to the number of 188, which could not be included in the return of 1807 which makes the whole decrease of the Slave Population to be 758.

Certified to be true, Castries, Nov. 30, 1811.

DE BARBIER,

King's Attorney General.

Signed,

A. WOOD,

Commandant.

No. XVI.

Statement of the Free Population of the Island of Tobago, as returned by the Governor, Sir William Young, October 1, 1811.

NAMES OF PARISHES.	Europeans.				Free Mulattoes, and Negroes.				Total Free Men.	Of which Militia.	Extra Garrison.	Total Armed Force.
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.				
St. Andrew's . . .	56	5	1	62	6	15	12	33	62	54	—	—
St. George's . . .	44	1	1	46	8	14	10	32	52	41	—	—
St. Mary's	30	2	3	35	4	10	4	18	34	22	—	—
St. Paul's	34	2	2	38	4	8	4	16	38	29	—	—
St. John's	29	2	1	32	2	5	4	11	31	29	—	—
St. David's . . .	83	6	2	91	12	25	15	52	95	60	—	—
St. Patrick's . . .	58	3	1	62	10	14	8	32	68	59	—	—
Scarbro' Town . .	152	26	22	200	42	50	38	130	194	143	290	—
Plymouth Town . .	15	2	2	19	4	12	10	26	19	—	56	—
Totals	501	49	35	583	92	153	105	350	574	417	346	763

The number of Slaves in October, 1810, was 16,897.

APPENDIX

No XVII.

A return of the Population of the Colonies of Demarara and Essequibo, taken by order of his Excellency the Governor, on the 31st October, and 25th November, 1811

White.				Free Coloured				Slaves.				TOTAL.
Adults.		Children.		Adults		Children.		Adults.		Children.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female	Male.	Female	Male.	Female	Male.	Female	Male	Female	
1,314	424	153	217	310	849	537	527	23,621	16,089	7,055	6,890	57,386 Demarara.
431	158	82	92	177	247	196	137	8,463	5,463	2,168	2,031	19,645 Essequibo.
1,745	582	235	309	487	1,096	733	664	31,484	21,552	9,223	8,921	77,031
2,871				2,980				71,180				

The Population of Berbice consists of 550 Whites, 240 Men of Colour, and 25,169 Negroes

No. XVIII.

Return to an Order of the Honourable House of Commons, dated 28th March, 1817,—requiring,

An Account showing the Official Value of the Trade between Great Britain and the Colonies in the West Indies now under the Dominion of His Majesty, in each Year from 1760 to 1816, both inclusive; and also, of the Number and Tonnage of Vessels employed in such Trade, as far as the same can be ascertained, and distinguishing the Quarters in the Year 1816

YEARS	Official Value of the Trade between Great Britain and the Colonies in the West Indies now under the Dominion of His Majesty		Number and Tonnage of Vessels employed in such Trade			
			Entered Inwards		Cleared Outwards	
	Imports from the West Indies	Exports to the West Indies	Ships	Tons.	Ships	Ton
	£	£				
1760	1,307,002	1,299,750				
1761	2,000,147	992,043				
1762	1,806,829	986,910				
1763	2,349,000	1,151,109				
1764	2,527,793	983,711				
1765	2,30[illegible] 79	1,071,[illegible]16	The Records of the Number and Tonnage of Vessels employed during the Years prior to 1773 were destroyed at the late Fire at the Custom-H			
1766	2,637,332	1,195,417				
1767	2,831,429	1,144,092				
1768	3,139,493	1,160,976				
1769	2,926,519	1,370,076				
1770	3,312,251	1,339,451				
1771	2,911,324	1,211,167				
1772	3,401,007	1,140,127				
1773	2,856,093	1,355,773				
1774	3,261,267	1,418,814				
1775	3,627,581	1,717,229	626	103,869	311	98,283
1776	3,200,641	1,601,233	651	102,150	315	89,918
1777	2,791,928	1,256,636	515	82,040	108	79,736
1778	3,010,930	1,154,068	586	94,737	469	82,637
1779	2,850,361	1,116,725	560	87,021	478	87,01
1780	2,605,910	1,751,827	178	89,226	519	107,0[illegible]
1781	1,858,537	1,024,417	483	90,560	331	58,15
1782	2,[illegible]62,1	1,271,081	481	91,886	501	90,670
1783	2,891,805	1,796,983	611	121,239	491	101,101
1784	3,[illegible]10,120	1,370,066	510	111,722	174	91,38
1785	1,[illegible]34,171	1,235,[illegible]48	600	139,769	311	111,070
1786	3,443,390	1,[illegible]30,068	572	111,599	511	92,643
1787	3,783,289	1,733,265	576	132,259	329	[illegible]

(Continued)

No. XVIII.—*continued.*

YEARS	Official Value of the Trade between Great Britain and the Colonies in the West Indies now under the Dominion of His Majesty		Number and Tonnage of Vessels employed in such Trade.			
			Entered Inwards		Cleared Outwards	
	Imports from the West Indies	Exports to the West Indies	Ships	Tons.	Ships	Tons
	£	£				
1788	1,018 113	1,766,454	613	146 565	526	124,810
1789	3,906,404	1 763,937	595	142,030	561	1 9,195
1790	3,890,927	1,986,201	580	139 937	522	127 679
1791	3,691,038	2 619 066	626	146 297	573	1 5 ,943
1792	1,165 066	2,922,119	650	148 767	597	142 074
1793	4 392,198	2 69 920	689	156 96	560	133,780
1794	4 782 616	3 632 762	652	153,752	690	163,965
1795	4,090 291	2 160 388	576	137,092	117	11 ,846
1796	3 910 345	3 220,668	609	138,637	18	116 673
1797	4 70, 88	3 113,878	475	143,807	521	1 8,78
1798	3 111,962	3 197 913	637	163,399	614	165 16
1799	6 140 314	5 043 501	811	214,775	760	194 27
1800	4,352,510	4,082,099	748	201,172	6	178 018
1801	8 118,158	1 , ,218	792	218,113	778	0 16
1802	8 471,327	3 878 294	936	256,873	712	20 90
1803	6,010 067	2 14 647	611	180,950	532	1 ,71
1804	7,393 550	4, 90	691	197,304	764	21 019
1805	6 636,668	3 800 7	716	203,494	637	186,142
1806	8,759,085	1,705,200	73	21 581	736	211,09
1807	7 919,988	4 536,563	6	1 0	770	223,713
1 0	8,716 918	5 850,77	80	0	814	176 381
1 9	7,607,693	3,90	* The	details of the Years were at		
1810	8,146 046	1 7 89				
1811	8,316,911	1 01 000				
1812	7,189,936	1 710,216				
1813	*					
1814	8 900,506	3 81 53	685	12,776	663	09 19
1815	8 371,193	6,862 371	71	23 ,246	710	225,961
1816	7,128,617	4,789 665	680	219,042	637	198,133

Note.—The Returns containing the details of the Trade with the respective Countries of the World, being made up in Annual periods only, that part of the above recited Order of The Honourable House of Commons, requiring the Distinction of the Quarters in the Year 1816, cannot be complied with, without very considerable delay, and the Account is therefore submitted without the Quarterly distinctions for the last Year.

WILLIAM IRVING,

Inspector-General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain.

Custom House, Inspector-General's Office, 1st January 1817.

No. XIX.

An Account of the Quantity of British Plantation Sugar imported into England, between the Years 1698 and 1754, and thereafter into Great Britain to the Year 1760, also an Account, for the same periods, of the Quantity of Raw and Refined Sugars exported: distinguishing each Year, and the Raw from the Refined.

	Imported.			Raw Sugar Exported.			Refined Sugar Exported.		
Years	Quantity. Cwt	qrs	lb	Quantity. Cwt.	qrs	lb	Quantity Cwt	qrs	lb
1698	427,573	2	25	182,525	2	4	14,302	0	20
1699	489,326	1	7	165,391	3	16	17,644	2	23
1700	435,465	1	21	133,917	3	11	3,475	1	17
1701	259,062	3	6	45,036	1	5	2,908	2	24
1702	408,914	0	1	84,016	2	26	621	1	25
1703	515,837	2	12	133,713	1	8	1,339	0	15
1704	370,157	1	7	71,822	1	7	690	3	18
1705	335,873	3	3	107,217	0	16	1,846	2	23
1706	388,267	3	26	131,832	2	25	2,156	2	13
1707	377,107	2	11	64,180	3	6	2,365	1	18
1708	397,570	3	12	74,877	3	23	924	0	18
1709	507,662	1	21	117,075	2	5	2,146	2	21
1710	366,494	1	26	82,142	2	24	1,500	2	16
1711	423,541	0	1	119,567	1	8	8,579	2	18
1712	503,528	1	8	184,609	0	12	3,193	1	10
1713	512,221	3	0	158,996	3	6	3,482	3	5
1714	617,414	3	11	143,337	1	13	4,481	3	14
1715	684,759	2	16	161,941	3	3	4,549	0	1
1716	768,173	3	14	290,179	2	11	9,993	0	3
1717	566,885	0	1	124,375	1	13	13,188	1	9
1718	544,634	0	25	167,622	0	20	3,644	2	19
1719	706,385	3	20	121,778	0	9	3,106	3	7
1720	497 611	0	21	66,743	3	11	3,786	2	25
1721	616,941	0	9	83,609	2	5	5,245	2	2
1722	660,766	2	9	63,479	1	7	4,914	2	12
1723	729,133	2	13	110,088	1	11	5,177	2	19
1724	851,952	2	25	147,408	2	1	6,293	3	5
1725	668,846	1	9	146,915	3	22	8,414	2	7
1726	645,156	0	1	112,699	3	21	11,073	3	1
1727	972,240	0	1	210,320	3	23	29,134	1	4
1728	994,761	3	24	158,746	2	13	13,686	1	2

(*Continued*)

	Imported.			Raw Sugar Exported.			Refined Sugar Exported.		
Years	Quantity Cwt.	qrs	lb.	Quantity Cwt	qrs	lb.	Quantity. Cwt	qrs.	lb.
729	1,024,078	2	3	167,980	1	12	14,538	0	23
730	818,277	1	12	95,832	0	1	24,077	2	26
731	824,844	3	15	121,904	3	18	16,511	3	18
732	1,001,784	2	0	102,274	0	5	27,008	2	5
733	695,679	3	9	44,932	0	8	13,275	0	26
734	903,634	2	22	69,899	2	25	21,070	1	0
735	877,591	0	24	58,569	3	26	19,706	2	24
736	550,900	1	10	40,779	3	17	11,331	3	6
737	864,252	1	0	49,437	1	6	9,197	1	23
738	951,073	3	4	63,149	0	3	15,881	2	10
739	706,947	0	8	67,144	2	16	15,046	1	9
740	886,121	1	0	68,450	0	3	19,449	3	15
741	731,410	3	11	50,231	0	10	12,599	3	24
1742	895,134	1	26	151,126	3	11	26,624	3	14
1743	721,411	2	14	58,198	0	19	17,687	0	2
1744	655,199	3	0	78,344	3	9	17,689	0	11
1745	753,472	1	19	92,826	2	22	13,616	3	27
1746	608,458	2	14	51,935	1	15	10,111	0	1
1747	982,588	2	13	115,727	1	11	10,801	3	21
1748	933,271	3	9	127,921	1	0	30,928	2	2
1749	925,344	2	5	107,964	0	22	21,846	3	15
1750	825,936	2	0	43,769	3	6	22,325	2	15
1751	825,121	1	16	35,712	2	16	13,508	3	20
1752	1,114,084	3	26	55,687	2	6	11,224	3	7
1753	859,131	2	12	42,818	2	17	12,998	1	15
1754	1,202,679	3	14	110,853	0	26	14,364	2	1
1755	1,051,265	3	6	206,336	2	0	30,017	3	2
1756	1,230,843	0	20	70,625	0	9	16,758	0	2
1757	1,145,628	2	3	220,824	3	14	62,771	3	6
1758	1,199,682	2	26	174,234	0	9	107,626	2	10
1759	1,374,720	2	5	143,6[illegible]3	1	23	58,650	3	18
1760	1,491,317	3	16	393,324	0	13	108,891	1	7

No. XX.

An Account of the Quantity of Sugar imported from the West-India Colonies into Great Britain, in the undermentioned periods, from 1761 to 1811, both inclusive, with the Quantity exported in the same periods, distinguishing the Export to Ireland, from the Export to all other Parts; and expressing the Sugar in Cwt. after reducing the Refined into Raw, on the Principle of 34 to 20; also the Quantity remaining for the Consumption of the British Empire.

Periods.	Imported	Exported.			Remaining for the Consumption of Great Britain and Ireland.
		To Ireland	To other Parts	Total.	
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.
1761	1,517,727	130,811	411,228	575,039	
1762	1,428,080	100,483	366,327	466,810	
1763	1,765,838	159,230	398,407	557,637	
1764	1,488,079	125,841	371,453	497,294	
1765	1,227,159	152,016	191,756	344,372	
Annual Average 15 Years	1,485,377	133,796	354,134	488,230	1,130,943
1771	1,492,096	207,103	82,063	289,716	
1772	1,629,721	189,555	48,676	238,203	
1773	1,804,080	207,886	37,323	238,209	
1774	2,029,725	224,735	55,481	280,214	
1775	2,021,059	272,638	190,568	463,206	
Annual Average	1,835,336	218,993	82,922	301,915	1,752,411
1781	1,080,848	162,951	114,631	277,582	
1782	1,374,269	96,640	49,816	146,456	
1783	1,584,275	173,417	177,839	351,256	
1784	1,782,386	142,139	222,076	364,21	
1785	2,075,909	210,039	223,204	434,143	
Annual Average	1,579,537	157,217	157,513	314,730	1,422,624
1791	1,808,950	141,291	267,397	408,688	
1792	1,980,975	115,309	508,821	624,130	
1793	2,115,308	145,223	360,005	505,228	
1794	2,330,026	153,798	792,364	946,162	
1795	1,871,368	147,609	551,788	699,397	
Annual Average	2,021,325	140,646	496,075	636,721	1,525,250

(Continued.)

Periods.	Imported	Exported			Remaining for the Consumption of Great Britain and Ireland.
		To Ireland	To other Parts	Total	
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt	Cwt.	Cwt.
1801	3,729,701	115,915	862,892	976,807	
1802	4,119,860	179,978	1,747,271	1,927,249	
1803	2,925,400	144,646	1,377,867	1,522,513	
1804	2,968,590	153,711	762,485	916,196	
1805	2,969,955	153,308	808,073	961,376	
1806	3,697,037	127,328	791,429	918,757	
Annual Average	3,389,734	145,480	1,058,336	1,203,816	2,331,598
1809	3,971,683	274,943	1,223,748	1,496,691	
1810	4,759,423	102,089	1,217,310	1,319,349	
1811	3,807,221	335,468	355,602	690,870	
Annual Average of 3 Years	4,210,276	236,816	932,153	1,168,970	3,288,122

WILLIAM IRVING

Inspector general's Office,
Custom-House, London

No. XXI.

An Account of the Quantity of Sugar imported into Ireland, in the Year ending January 5, 1813; specifying the Quantity imported from each of the Colonies, &c. &c

	Muscovado. Cwt.
Great Britain	231,245
Antigua	32,614¼
Barbadoes	26,160
Demarara	15471¼
Grenada	1,645
Jamaica	42,517½
Newfoundland	1,481½
St Croix	13,422
St Kitt's	6,467½
St. Lucia	5,260
St. Vincent's	8,599
Surinam	13,995
Trinidad	22,761
Martinique	1,765
Guadaloupe	579½
East Indies	—
No prize sugar imported	—
Total Import	421,784¼

Custom-House, Dublin,
April 27, 1813

Wm MARRABLE,
Inspector-general of Imports and Exports.

No XXII.

Table of the Prices, Charges, and Proceeds of a Hundred Weight of Sugar, at different Periods.

	Ex Duty.		Included Duty.		Charges.						Net Proceeds.					Actual Sales per Hogshead, net.					
	Gazette Price per Cwt.		Sale Price.		Duty.		Mercantile		Total.		Per Cwt.		Per Hogshead of 13 Cwt.			Sugars, Tobago.			Sugars, St. Vincent's.		
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1791	55	0	67	4	12	4	8	6	20	10	46	6	30	4	6	0	0	0	31	8	0
1792	57	0	69	4	12	4	8	6	20	10	48	6	31	10	6	0	0	0	32	6	0
1793	58	0	70	4	12	4	12	0	24	4	46	0	29	18	0	21	15	0	27	16	0
1794	39	0	54	0	15	0	12	0	27	0	27	0	17	11	0	16	6	0	20	16	0
1795	62	5	77	5	15	0	12	6	27	6	49	11	32	4	7	30	0	0	35	15	0
1796	62	0	77	0	15	0	12	6	27	6	44	6	32	3	6	28	5	0	34	0	0
1797	64	0	81	6	17	6	13	0	30	6	51	0	33	3	0	30	18	0	37	0	0
1798	66	8	86	0	19	4	13	0	32	4	53	8	34	17	8	34	8	0	37	18	0
1799	55	0	75	0	20	0	13	6	33	6	41	6	26	19	6	15	0	0	23	18	0
1800	54	0	74	0	20	0	13	6	33	6	40	6	26	6	6	21	10	0	28	16	0
1801	44	0	64	0	20	0	14	0	34	0	30	0	19	10	0	19	2	0	21	4	0
1802	34	0	54	5	20	0	14	0	34	0	20	5	13	5	5	14	18	0	18	14	0
1803	43	0	67	0	24	0	10	0	34	0	33	0	21	9	0	18	10	0	28	0	0
1804	53	6	80	0	26	6	14	0	40	6	39	6	25	15	6	22	0	0	27	10	0
1805	49	0	76	0	27	0	14	6	41	6	34	6	22	8	6	16	0	0	22	17	0
1806	41	0	68	0	27	0	15	0	42	0	26	0	16	8	0	—	—	—	—	—	—

No XXIII

An Account of the Quantity of Rum imported from the West-India Colonies into Great Britain, in the undermentioned Periods, from 1761 to 1806, both inclusive, with the Quantity exported in the same Periods, distinguishing the Export to Ireland, from the Export to all other Parts.

Periods	Imported	Exported		
		To Ireland	To other Parts	Total
	Gallons	Gallons	Gallons	Gallons.
1761	1,011 149	10	11,827	11,837
1762	1,120,512	9,710	44,138	53,848
1763	1,310,679	365,336	97,693	463 029
1764	1,878 405	851,160	55,970	907,130
1765	2,587,829	1,291,779	63,179	1,354,958
Annual Average of five Years . .	1,581,714	503,599	54,561	558,160
1771	2,728,565	1,932,066	144.243	2,076,329
1772	2,284,163	368,672	273,301	641,973
1773	2,282,544	598,931	301,810	900,741
1774	1,890,290	393,926	295,206	689,132
1775	2,498,241	494,090	347,258	841,348
Annual Average	2,336,760	757,541	272,363	1,029,904

	1781	1,372,653	95,[illegible]58	129,087	[illegible]75
	1782	1,710,352	110,[illegible]41	413,387	524,228
	1783	2,011,861	885,796	660,962	1,546,758
	1784	1,994,432	314,185	202,872	517,057
	1785	3,563,537	550,117	468,621	1,018,738
Annual Average		2,136,567	391,305	375,166	766,471
	1791	2,121,199	443,187	353,801	796,988
	1792	3,026,455	167,862	409,463	577,325
	1793	3,756,789	112,146	304,417	416,563
	1794	2,926,232	267,867	714,587	982,454
	1795	1,889,842	92,462	218,299	310,761
Annual Average		2,804,103	216,709	400,113	616,922
	1801	4,417,765	732,784	585,104	1,317,888
	1802	4,685,290	325,023	1,010,551	1,335,574
	1803	5,954,770	75,206	598,596	673,802
	1804	2,756,329	90,806	1,060,777	1,151,583
	1805	3,586,635	92,903	743,462	836,365
	1806	5,570,774	184,149	803,094	987,242
Annual Average		3,828,593	250,115	800,364	1,050,509

No. XXIV.

An Account of the Quantity of Coffee imported from the West-India Colonies into Great Britain, in the under-mentioned Periods, from 1761 to 1806, both inclusive, with the Quantity exported in the same Periods, distinguishing the Export to Ireland, from the Export to all other Parts.

Periods	Imported.	Exported		
		To Ireland.	To other Parts.	Total.
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt	Cwt.
1761	44,962	261	33,435	33,714
[illegible]	77,720	333	68,428	68,761
1763	71,253	216	66,129	66,375
1764	21,041	279	29,528	29,807
[illegible]	31,569	310	25,032	25,342
Annual Average of five Years	49,309	[illegible]	44,514	44,799
1771	40,026	651	38,392	39,243
1772	62,206	965	54,432	55,357
1773	44,745	[illegible]	48,776	48,839
1774	58,164	[illegible]	65,737	65,779
1775	54,935	[illegible]	40,09[illegible]	40,122
Annual Average	52,015	381	49,487	49,868

1781	13,785	52	13,228	13,280
1782	22,482	--	25,303	25,303
1783	17,272	147	21,477	21,619
1784	41 147	1	39,878	39,879
1785	37 036	41	38,100	38,144
Annual Average	26,144	48	27,597	27,645
1791	40.756	27	33,903	33,930
1792	69,017	46	52,798	52,844
1793	90,547	31	94,484	94,515
1794	191,628	126	150,390	150,516
1795	181,744	52	190.991	191,043
Annual Average	114,744	56	104,513	104,569
1801	525 964	92	420,289	420,381
802	384 364	62	473 098	473,160
1803	157,453	99	173,521	173,620
1804	328,013	35	240 470	246,505
1805	289.808	49	304,998	304,147
1806	497,739	460	387,163	387,623
Annual Average	363,90[illegible]	133	334.106	334,239

Custom-House. WILLIAM IRVING.

No XXI

An Account of the Quantity of Cotton Wool imported from the West-India Colonies into Great Britain in the under-mentioned Periods, from 1761 to 1806, both inclusive, with the Quantity exported in the same Periods, distinguishing the Export to Ireland, from the Export to all other Parts

Periods	Imported.	Exported		
		To Ireland	To the Parts	Total
	lbs	lbs	lbs	lbs
1761	2,995,705	165,688	166,485	332,173
1762	3,713,604	123,780	43,291	167,071
1763	2,606,594	52,848	198,644	251,492
1764	3,660,087	182,864	30,874	213,738
1765	3,715,793	66,316	12,476	78,792
Annual Average of five Years	3,338,346	118,299	90,354	208,653
1771	2,270,279	7,571	46,912	54,483
1772	2,287,616	5,830	34,423	40,253
1773	2,415,333	11,[illegible]	15,060	26,455
1774	3,174,964	1,050	323	1,373
1775	3,784,852	1,652	8,238	9,890
Annual Average	2,587,201	5,500	20,991	26,491

	1781	3,136,913	94,0[illegible]	2,765	96,788
	1782	6,311,929	[illegible]14	283,301	283,915
	1783	6,100,191	[illegible]088	2,408	5,408
	1784	6,874,961	197,451	3,566	201,017
	1785	8,260,761	187,929	797	188,726
Annual Average		6,130,951	96,003	58,567	155,170
	1791	12,330,109	57,070	42,221	99,291
	1792	12,576,874	476,629	343,850	820,479
	1793	9,164,893	191,452	300,168	491,620
	1794	10,337,245	162,670	95,321	257,991
	1795	13,604,175	316 034	168,153	484,187
Annual Average		11,602,659	240,771	189,942	430,713
	1801	19,957,307	1,200	195,282	196,482
	1802	16,284,857	30,291	135,371	165,662
	1803	7,036,104	1,522	—	1,522
	1804	20,535,574	—	23 632	23,632
	1805	16,226,344	—	43,638	43,638
	1806	16,712,344	—	27,814	27,814
Annual Average		16,992,088	5,502	70,956	76,458

Custom House,

WILLIAM IRVING

No. XXVI.

An Account of the Quantity of Cocoa imported from the West-India Colonies into Great Britain, in the undermentioned Periods, from 1761 to 1806, both inclusive; with the Quantity exported in the same Periods; distinguishing the Export to Ireland, from the Exports to all other Parts.

Periods.	Imported.	Exported		
		To Ireland.	To other Parts	Total
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt
1761	3,324	168	1,551	1,719
1762	2,173	78	1,608	1,686
1763	12,783	372	9,178	9,550
1764	3,148	19	3,107	3,126
1765	2,761	166	2,163	2,239
Annual Average of five Years . . .	4,837	161	3,521	3,682
1771	6,882	65	3,930	3,995
1772	6,802	150	4,653	4,803
1773	7,813	145	6,487	6,632
1774	5,508	165	4,732	4,897
1775	6,275	184	2,347	2,531
Annual verage	6,716	142	4,429	4,571

1781	2,527	[illegible]	3,906	3,968
1782	847	—	608	608
1783	3,541	[illegible]	2,496	2,504
1784	5,584	—	2,503	2,503
1785	5 830	205	2,395	2,600
Annual Average	3,665	55	2,381	2 436
1791	4,301	70	228	298
1792	3,933	81	2,664	2,745
1793	2,794	18	1,574	1,592
1794	8,797	267	2,750	3 017
1795	5,616	21	21,831	21,852
Annual Average	5,088	91	5,809	5,900
1801	7,828	37	4 536	4,573
1802	6,753	113	4,249	4,362
1803	3,075	73	2,931	3,004
1804	3,483	25	829	854
1805	7,316	21	2,929	2,950
1806	7,562	—	4,202	4,202
Annual Average	6,002	45	3,279	3 324

Custom-House.

WILLIAM IRVING.

No. XXVII.

An Account of the Quantity of Pimento imported from the West-India Colonies into Great Britain, in the under-mentioned Periods, from 1761 to 1806, both inclusive, with the Quantity exported in the same Periods, distinguishing the Export to Ireland, from the Export to all other Parts

Periods	Imported.	Exported		
		To Ireland.	To other Parts	Total
	lbs	lbs.	lbs	lbs
1761	351,286	14,082	538,510	552,592
1762	1,541,230	5,698	760,405	766,103
1763	1,114,702	6 964	1 149,239	1,156,203
1764	1,587,400	13,671	1,574,270	1,587,941
1765	1,142,974	11,067	839 361	850,428
Annual Average of five Years	1,147,518	10,296	972,357	982,653
1771	1,793,154	8,952	1,633,692	1,642 644
1772	1,450,575	31,672	1,392,176	1,423 938
1773	2,282 071	6 306	2,306,695	2,313,001
1774	786,815	5,564	716,496	722,060
1775	2,530,939	3 457	2,543,591	2,547,048
Annual Average	1,768,710	11,208	1 718,530	1 729,738

	1781	951,262	4,548	899,427	903,675
	1782	454,954	—	558,098	558,098
	1783	917,542	404	860 334	860,738
	1784	1,134,254	—	947,976	947,976
	1785	3,252,196	14,910	2,823,093	2,838,003
Annual Average		1,348,042	3,912	1,217,786	1 221,698
	1791	1,159,134	751	724 807	725.558
	1792	1,900,739	681	1,310,089	1,310,770
	1793	1,087,416	82	963,611	963,693
	1794	1,279,883	5 805	1,512,632	1,518,437
	1795	1,263,818	7,151	781,866	789 019
Annual Average		1,338,198	2,894	1,058.601	1,061,495
	1801	1,676,542	6,393	1,235,845	1 242,238
	1802	658,503	14,222	847,570	861,792
	1803	1,133,477	23,485	941,589	965 074
	1804	2 239.032	10,142	1,189,3 2	1,199 534
	1805	540,933	6,170	817,053	823 223
	1806	2,109,676	15,233	1,501,491	1 514 724
Annual Average-		1,393 027	12,274	1,088,823	1,061,097

No. XXVIII

An Account of the Value of Dye Woods, and other miscellaneous Articles, excepting Sugar, Coffee, Rum, Cocoa, Pimento and Cotton, imported from the West-India Colonies into Great Britain, from the Year 1791 to the Year 1805, both inclusive; distinguishing each Year.

	£.
1791	218,159
1792	196,990
1793	151,020
1794	148,272
1795	169,366
1796	269,470
1797	496,340
1798	366,983
1799	509,406
1800	703,086
1801	523,73[illegible]
1802	287,97[illegible]
1803	253,41[illegible]
1804	381,621
1805	244,761

WILLIAM IRVING.

No. XXIX.

An Account of the Quantities of Rum, Sugar, Coffee, and Cotton Wool, exported from the British West-India Islands, from the 5th of January, 1793, to the 5th of January, 1803; so far as the same can be made up; distinguishing each Year, and the Quantities to the United States, to the British Colonies on the Continent of America, and to Great Britain, respectively.

		United States of America.	British Continental Colonies.	Great Britain.	Total.
		Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
Rum .	1793	536,353	613,898	3,756,800	4,907,051
	1794	2,265,177	525,720	2,806,623	5,597,520
	1795	2,106,883	204,965	1,861,886	4,173,734
	1796	3,267,280	307,124	1,993,350	5,567,754
	1797	2,197,450	486,706	1,595,008	4,279,164
	1798	1,972,985	384,753	3,866,138	6,224,076
	1799	3,201,209	664,258	2,404,982	6,270,449
	1800	2,761,384	186,419	3,283,592	6,251,225
	1801	3,638,021	569,691	3,940,859	8,148,571
	1802	3,925,595	584,673	4,166,113	8,676,381
	1803	4,198,151	792,474	3,790,868	8,781,496

(*Continued.*)

		United States of America	British Continental Colonies.	Great Britain.	Total.
		Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.
Sugar	1793	9,536	5,106	2,115,308	2,129,750
	1794	37,606	4,615	2,099,700	2,141,921
	1795	67,845	3,320	1,672,774	1,743,939
	1796	100,083	7,332	1,709,219	1,816,634
	1797	54,887	3,893	1,577,921	1,636,681
	1798	47,172	4,508	1,963,922	2,015,602
	1799	106,679	9,933	2,511,858	2,628,470
	1800	90,800	10,660	2,312,537	2,413,997
	1801	46,855	10,366	2,902,737	2,959,958
	1802	50,258	11,397	3,401,711	3,463,366
	1803	113,447	13,906	2,759,126	2,886,479
		Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.
Coffee	1793	866	603	90,457	92,016
	1794	4,586	80	136,341	141,007
	1795	22,351	99	122,370	144,820
	1796	21 828	514	71,744	94,086
	1797	13,538	427	100,982	114,947
	1798	19,421	802	144,852	165,075
	1799	8,093	1,130	123,036	132,259
	1800	7,125	775	172,471	180,371
	1801	12,596	935	185,828	199,359
	1802	14,907	257	214,984	230,148
	1803	19,916	1,353	152,614	173,883
Cotton Wool		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
	1793	—	8,690	9,164,893	9,173,583
	1794	74,369	6,304	8,392,502	8,473,175
	1795	49,282	1,600	11,624,613	11,675,495
	1796	47,400	1,550	8,805,163	8,854,413
	1797	86,817	12,850	6,818,486	6,918,153
	1798	—	18,250	7 891,589	7,909,839
	1799	59,400	750	7,469,731	7,529,881
	1800	31,800	4,274	10,575,275	10,611,349
	1801	12,350	500	11,948,164	11,961,014
	1802	3,000	14.950	8,781,941	8 799,891
	1803	—	3,250	5,647,365	5,650,615

Custom-House, London,
May 5th, 1806.

WILLIAM IRVING

An Account of the Quantity and Value of the principal Articles imported from the British and Foreign West India Islands, for the three Years ending 5th January, 1808, and the three Years ending 5th January, 1811, distinguishing each Year.

	British Islands.		Conquered Colonies.		Foreign West Indies		Total.	
	Quantity.	Official Value.	Quantity.	Official Value.	Quantity.	Official Value.	Quantity.	Official Value.
1805.	—	*L.*	—	*L.*	—	*L.*	—	*L.*
Coffee, cwts.	219,873	1,461,160	76,946	536,757	1,606	11,241	298,425	2,009,188
Cotton, lbs.	5,581,565	207,758	11,048,706	384,907	569,104	18,377	17,299,375	611,042
Rum, galls.	3,372,911	303,821	214,208	20,115	142	12	3,587,261	323,948
Sugar, cwts.	2,583,072	3,522,165	352,264	480,550	37,810	51,996	2,973,152	4,054,711
Total		5,494,904		1,422,359		81,626		6,998,888
1806.								
Coffee, cwts.	280,846	1,901,059	219,483	1,510,355	5,254	33,424	505,583	3,444,838
Cotton, lbs.	7,084,619	258,663	11,789,950	415,056	609,254	20,276	19,483,823	693,994
Rum, galls.	3,305,738	301,035	260,021	25,310	37	3	3,565,796	326,348
Sugar, cwts.	3,206,977	4,375,727	475,957	618,625	51,417	42,844	3,714,331	5,067,236
Total		6,836,484		2,599,346		96,586		9,532,416

1807								
Coffee, cwts.	276,85[illegible]	1,449,199	107,851	[illegible]45,344	54,220	379,542	378,906	2,571,583
Cotton, lbs.	7,039,935	256,998	12,634,711	454,640	1,251,221	41,644	20,925,865	753,[illegible]69
Rum, galls.	4,068,875	363,754	374,739	33,104	14,870	1,239	4,458,484	398,097
Sugar, cwts.	3,016,036	4,115,390	474,098	648,659	1,094	1,491	3,491,218	4,765,540
Total		6,185,341		1,879,247		423,916		8,488,504
1810.								
Coffee, cwts.	275,715	1,718,007	304,128	1,664,125	218,111	1,492,046	757,949	4,874,180
Cotton, lbs.	6,886,697	261,340	11,778,945	438,349	582,955	23,358	19,248,597	722,[illegible]47
Rum, galls.	4,732,781	433,332	706.177	62,452	27	3	5,440,985	495,787
Sugar, cwts.	2,964,689	4,042,428	1,389,316	1,893,735	108 516	148,520	4,462,521	6,084,683
Total		6,455,107		4,058,661		1,662,929		12,176,697
1811.								
Coffee, cwts.	173,560	1,157,340	286,451	1,928,303	43,125	285,187	503,136	3,371,130
Cotton, lbs.	4,930,012	192,182	13,346,114	467,894	588,657	22,796	18,864,783	632,872
Rum, galls.	6,082,006	536,861	856,458	75,432	155	12	6 938,599	612,305
Sugar. cwts.	2,883,097	5,938,119	871,378	1,185,986	25,682	34,846	3,780,157	5,158,951
Total		5,824,502		3,657,615		343,141		9,[illegible]5,258
1812.								
Coffee, cwts.	172,388	1,176,845	188,795	1,227,452	3,954	21,201	372,337	2 425,498
Cotton, lbs.	4,268,002	160,808	11.414,502	419,125	45,951	1,484	15,728,455	581,417
Rum, galls.	5,176,012	455,139	1,285,401	119,482	—	—	6,461,413	577,621
Sugar, cwts.	2,654,741	3,625,094	999,947	1,356,673	498	685	3,654,286	4,982,452
Total		5,417,886		3,122,732		23,370		8 566,988

No. XXXI.

Table of the Quantities of the principal Articles exported to Great Britain from the British Colonies in the West Indies, and the official Value of the Imports into, and Exports from, those Colonies, for the Years 1809 and 1810.

ANTIGUA.

Quantities of the principal Articles.

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit. Plant	For. Plant	Brit. Plant	For. Plant.	Rum.	Cott. Wool
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls.	lbs.
1809	309	3,983	106,150	629	143,223	112,016
1810	40	2,164	188,799	3,821	77,092	39,880

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809 . .	£198,121	£216,000
1810 . .	235,458	182,392

BAHAMAS.

Quantities of the principal Articles.

	Coffee.		Sugar.				
	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Rum.	Pimento	Cott. Wool
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls	lbs.	lbs.
1809	—	9,143	130	12,884	26	1,528	1,139,703
1810	—	4,345	—	6,413	11	2,227	1,348,828

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809 . .	£135,515	£504,067
1810 . .	108,485	181,372

BARBADOES

Quantities of the principal Article

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit. Plant	For. Plant	Brit. Plant	For. Plant	Rum	Cott. Wool
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls.	lb
1809	3,471	1,[illegible]46	139,717	3	19,761	1,350,8[illegible]
1810	308	9	181,140	—	7,909	1,153,7[illegible]

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£288,412	£450,760
1810	311,400	271,697

BERBICE.

Quantities of the principal Articles.

	Coffee		Sugar.			
	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant	Brit. Plant.	For Plant	Rum	Cott. Wool.
	Cwt	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls	lbs.
1809	17,665	—	7,760	—	20,355	1,874,1[illegible]
1810	22,582	—	3,827	—	6,193	1,656,0[illegible]

Value of Imports and Exports

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£193,663	£49,662
1810	191,556	51,[illegible]95

BERMUDAS.

Quantities of the principal Articles.

	Coffee.		
	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Cotton Wool.
	Cwt.	Cwt.	lbs.
1809	8	988	21,656
1810	—	[illegible]	9,095

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£11,648	£34,270
1810	1,137	36,613

APPENDIX

DEMERARA.

Quantities of the principal Articles.

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Rum.	Cott. Wool.
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls.	lbs.
1809	24,528	—	150,431	7	353,370	1,012,257
1810	45,180	698	150,624	2	98,442	7,331,122

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£550,871	£278,998
1810	778,104	346,783

DOMINICA.

Quantities of the principal Articles.

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Rum.	Cott. Wool.
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls.	lbs.
1809	32,540	1,096	41,990	10,612	56,356	75,425
1810	27,185	23	61,522	840	59,397	59,742

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£315,584	£161,291
1810	282,002	39,686

GRENADA.

Quantities of the principal Articles.

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Rum.	Cott. Wool.
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls.	lbs.
1809	2,892	234	210,057	12	612,310	1,157,679
1810	1,193	—	215,622	263	546,895	588,362

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£439,453	£189,800
1810	388,936	173,366

JAMAICA.

Quantities of the principal Article

	Coffee.		Sugar.				
	Brit. Plant.	For. Pl.	Brit. Plant.	F. Pl.	Pimento	Rum	Cott. Wool
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	lbs.	Galls.	lbs.
1809	214,115	1635	1,504,612	19	2,219,307	3,470,250	1,886,748
1810	232,203	1186	1,611,422	6	2,392,961	3,428,642	1,758,172

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£4,008,897	£3,033,234
1810	4,303,337	2,303,579

MONTSERRAT

Quantities of the principal Articles.

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Brit. Plant	For. Plant.	Rum	Cott. Wool.
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls.	lbs.
1809	—	—	24,915	—	51,132	29,455
1810	—	—	41,112	—	48,880	48,311

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£35,407	£19,460
1810	62,462	16,816

NEVIS.

Quantities of the principal Articles

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Brit. Plant	For. Plant	Rum.	Cott. Wool.
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt	Galls.	lbs.
1809	—	31	60,872	—	52,473	17,468
1810	18	—	87,393	—	67,010	11,169

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£ 89,062	£20,500
1810	126,443	11,764

APPENDIX

ST CHRISTOPHER'S

Quantities of the principal Articles

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit Plant.	For. Plant.	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Rum.	Cott. Wool
	Cwt.	Cwt	Cwt	Cwt	Galls.	lbs.
1800	4,64	71	166,058	[illegible]	313,070	112,[illegible]
1810	130	75	197,943	158	220,880	29,[illegible]

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£269,064	£132,845
1810	253,611	89,362

ST. LUCIA

Quantities of the principal Articles

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit Plant	For. Plant.	Brit. Plant	For. Plant	Rum	Cott. Wool
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls.	lbs.
1809	7,903	—	41,783	14	21,632	111,[illegible]
1810	10,011	—	86,755	—	11,416	127,0[illegible]

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£120,431	£[illegible]5,569
1810	193,743	45,330

ST. VINCENT'S

Quantities of the principal Articles.

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit. Plant	For. Plant	Brit Plant.	For. Plant.	Rum.	Cott. Wo
	Cwt	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls.	lbs.
1809	248	—	202,053	4	243,461	230,8[illegible]
1810	327	—	197,304	—	200,795	171,0[illegible]

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£307,829	£82,408
1810	295,509	96,879

TOBAGO.

Quantities of the principal Articles.

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Rum.	Cott. Wool.
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls.	lbs.
1809	5	—	130,122	21	525,327	48,791
1810	0	—	101,308	—	337,423	11,818

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£226,824	£70,585
1810	201,169	79,787

TORTOLA.

Quantities of the principal Articles.

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Rum.	Cott. Wool.
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls.	lbs.
1809	—	1,136	9,257	3,436	16,852	158,497
1810	9	674	31,562	2,438	7,711	250,797

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£33,399	£52,000
1810	61,520	56,612

TRINIDAD.

Quantities of the principal Articles.

	Coffee.		Sugar.			
	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Brit. Plant.	For. Plant.	Rum.	Cott. Wool.
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Galls.	lbs.
1809	3,696	2	157,866	—	608,677	1,171,586
1810	2,713	—	166,627	—	87,741	853,384

Value of Imports and Exports.

	Imports.	Exports.
1809	£328,512	£570,710
1810	300,996	357,07[illegible]

No. XXXIII.

An Account of the real or declared Value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures exported from Great Britain to the British Islands and Colonies in the West Indies, between the 5th January, 1816, and the 5th January, 1817, as stated by the Inspector-general of Imports and Exports

	£.	s.	d.
Antigua	116,559	6	10
Barbadoes	309,598	18	2
Dominica	70,489	4	1
Grenada	137,984	19	1
Jamaica	2,243,269	11	3
Montserrat	20,868	14	0
Nevis	43,552	5	11
St. Kitt's	79,770	4	8
St. Lucia	69,017	1	6
St. Vincent's	105,024	8	5
Tobago	75,111	9	9
Tortola	46,680	14	1
Trinidad	176,915	18	9
Bahamas	101,805	19	3
Bermudas	31,923	9	3
Demerara	404,619	14	4
Berbice	78,635	19	1
Honduras	43,335	2	1
Total £	4,155,163	0	6

No XXXIV

JAMAICA.

A Return of Imports into, and Exports from, the Island of Jamaica, and of the Tonnage of Vessels trading thereto, between the 29th of September, 1814, and the 29th of September, 1815, laid before the Honourable House of Assembly, on the 17th of November, 1815.

IMPORTS.

From Great Britain and Ireland:—11,327 bags of flour; 1047 barrels, and 12,149 bags of bread; 916 barrels of pease and beans; 10,926 barrels of herrings; 2371 barrels of pilchards; and 11,400 staves and heading.

From the British Plantations:—5492 barrels of flour; 195 barrels, 500 bags, and 183 kegs of bread; 450 tierces, and 13 bags of rice; 1009 hogsheads, 3983 casks, and 3734 boxes of dry fish; 227 tierces, 18,155 barrels, and 535 kegs, of pickled fish; 487,223 staves and heading; 243,990 shingles; 899,608 feet of lumber; 2 horses and 1 mule.

From the United States:—25,154 barrels of flour; 683 barrels, 100 bags, and 1368 kegs, of bread; 339 tierces, 2 barrels, and 9 bags of rice; 6923 bushels, 225 bags, and 5884 barrels of corn and meal; 3 barrels and 47 bags of pease and beans; 333,325 staves and heading; 315,290 shingles; and 317,678 feet of lumber.

From the Spanish Main, and Islands within the Tropics.—25,159 barrels of flour; 336 barrels, 118 bags, and 397 kegs, of bread: 373 tierces, 2475 barrels, and 3937 bags, of rice; 31,747 bushels. 1154 bags, and 1018 barrels, of corn

and meal; 369 barrels and 31 bags of pease and beans; 201,939 staves and heading; 562,900 shingles; 403,733 feet of lumber; 976 horses; 3242 mules; 935 asses; and 2094 cattle.

Total to Kingston:—67,132 barrels of flour; 2261 barrels, 12,867 bags, and 1948 kegs, of bread; 1162 tierces, 2177 barrels, and 3959 bags, of rice; 38,670 bushels, 1379 bags, and 6902 barrels, of corn and meal; 1288 barrels and 78 bags of pease and beans; 1009 hogsheads, 3983 casks, and 3734 boxes, of dry fish; 227 tierces, 18,155 barrels, and 535 kegs, of pickled fish; 10,926 barrels of herrings; 2371 barrels of pilchards; 1,033,887 staves and heading; 1,122,180 shingles; 1,631,019 feet of lumber; 978 horses; 3243 mules; 935 asses; and 2094 cattle.

From Great Britain and Ireland—891 barrels of flour; 122 barrels and 100 bags of bread; 20,311 barrels of herrings; and 1940 barrels of pilchards.

From the British Plantations:—492 barrels of flour; 44 tierces of rice; 1080 hogsheads, 340 casks, and 885 boxes, of dry fish; 44 tierces, 2969 barrels, and 25 kegs, of pickled fish; 108,102 staves and heading; 136,775 shingles, and 568,700 feet of lumber.

From the United States:—1243 barrels of flour; 113 barrels and 291 kegs of bread; 85 tierces and 85 barrels of rice; 1530 bushels, 197 bags, and 515 barrels, of corn and meal, 66 barrels of pease and beans; 360,945 staves and heading; 105,000 shingles; and 46,580 feet of lumber.

From the Spanish Main, &c.:—2642 barrels of flour, 6 barrels, 6 bags, and 20 kegs of bread; 41 barrels and 370 bags of rice; 200 bushels and 3 barrels of corn and meal, 62,818 staves and heading; 27,000 shingles; 129,811 feet of lumber; 528 horses; 451 mules; and 2308 cattle.

Total to the Out-ports:—5268 barrels of flour: 541 barrels, 116 bags, and 310 kegs, of bread, 129 tierces, 126 barrels, and 370 bags, of rice; 1730 bushels, 197 bags, and 518 barrels, of corn and meal; 66 barrels of pease and beans;

1030 hogsheads, 340 casks, and 885 boxes, of dry fish; 44 tierces, 2969 barrels, and 25 kegs, of pickled fish; 20,311 barrels of herrings; 1940 barrels of pilchards; 531,365 staves and heading; 268,775 shingles; 745,091 feet of lumber; 528 horses; 451 mules; and 2308 cattle.

Grand Total Imported:—72,400 barrels of flour; 2802 barrels, 12,983 bags, and 2258 kegs, of bread; 1291 tierces, 2603 barrels, and 4329 bags, of rice; 40,400 bushels, 1576 bags, and 7420 barrels, of corn and meal; 1354 barrels and 78 bags of pease and beans; 2089 hogsheads, 4323 casks, and 1619 boxes, of dry fish; 271 tierces, 21,124 barrels, and 560 kegs, of pickled fish; 31,237 barrels of herrings; 4311 barrels of pilchards; 1,565,752 staves and heading; 1,390,955 shingles; 2,366,110 feet of lumber; 1506 horses; 3691 mules; 935 asses; and 4402 cattle.

EXPORTS.

To Great Britain:—23,997 hogsheads, 1545 tierces, and 473 barrels, of sugar; 5554 puncheons and 259 hogsheads of rum; 679 casks and 587 bags, of ginger; 201 casks and 1196 bags of pimento; and 12,504,981 lbs. of coffee.

To Ireland:—1152 hogsheads, 397 tierces, and 279 barrels, of sugar; 486 puncheons and 108 hogsheads of rum; 169 casks of ginger; 26 casks and 164 bags of pimento; and 553,479 lbs. of coffee.

To the British Plantations in America:—131 hogsheads, 123 tierces, and 620 barrels, of sugar; 4001 puncheons, 386 hogsheads, and 67 casks, of rum; 1 cask of molasses; 2 casks and 24 bags of ginger; 30 casks and 156 bags of pimento; and 105,894 lbs. of coffee.

To the United States of America:—217 hogsheads, 43 tierces, and 285 barrels, of sugar; 1340 puncheons and 5 hogsheads of rum; 38 casks of molasses; 63 casks and 107 bags of ginger; 11 casks and 317 bags of pimento; and 197,359 lbs. of coffee.

To the Spanish Main and Islands within the Tropics:—3 tierces and 15 barrels of sugar; 539 puncheons, 56 hogsheads, 502 casks, and 1393 barrels of rum; and 1025 lbs. of coffee.

Total from Kingston:—25,497 hogsheads, 3111 tierces, and 1672 barrels, of sugar; 11,920 puncheons, 814 hogsheads, 669 casks, and 1395 barrels, of rum; 89 casks of molasses; 913 casks and 718 bags of ginger; 265 casks and 1833 bags of pimento; and 18,360,738 lbs. of coffee.

To Great Britain:—93,014 hogsheads, 9933 tierces, and 1085 barrels, of sugar; 32,916 puncheons and 575 hogsheads of rum; 134 casks of molasses; 572 casks and 8[illegible] bags of ginger; 524 casks and 22,310 bags of pimento; and 13,888,544 lbs. of coffee.

To the British Plantations in America:—194 hogsheads, 37 tierces, and 11 barrels, of sugar; 2917 puncheons, 73 hogsheads, and 5 barrels, of rum; 11 casks of molasses; 50 bags of pimento; and 56,831 lbs. of coffee.

To the United States of America:—62 hogsheads, 83 tierces, and 69 barrels, of sugar; 2736 puncheons and 3 hogsheads of rum; 58 casks of molasses; 8 casks and 55 bags of ginger; 52 casks and 3184 bags of pimento; and 57,629 lbs. of coffee.

To the Spanish Main and Islands within the Tropics:—107 puncheons and 5 casks of rum.

Total from the Out-ports:—23,270 hogsheads, 10,118 tierces, and 1145 barrels, of sugar; 41,076 puncheons, 651 hogsheads, 5 casks, and 5 barrels, of rum; 203 casks of molasses; 880 casks and 949 bags of ginger; 576 casks and 25,553 bags of pimento; 14,002,004 lbs. of coffee.

Grand Total Exported:—113,767 hogsheads, 12,224 tierces, and 2817 barrels, of sugar; 52,926 puncheons, 1465 hogsheads, 574 casks, and 1398 barrels, of rum; 242 casks of molasses; 1493 casks, and 1667 bags of ginger; 844 casks and 27,886 bags of pimento; and 27,367,742 lbs. of coffee.

TONNAGE OF VESSELS.

To Kingston:—48,665 tons from Great Britain and Ireland; 17,911 ditto, from America; 17,325 ditto, from the Spanish Main and neighbouring islands;—2371 ditto, droggers; and 15,768 ditto, of vessels under the Free-Port Act.

To Out-Ports:—72,927 tons, from Great Britain and Ireland; 4938 ditto, from America; 1810 ditto, from the Spanish Main and neighbouring islands; 1212 ditto, droggers; and 4707 ditto, of vessels under the Free-Port Act.

Total:—121,592 tons, from Great Britain and Ireland; 22,849 ditto, from America; 19,139 ditto from the Spanish Main and neighbouring islands; 3588 ditto, droggers; and 20,475 ditto, of vessels under the Free-Port Act.

APPENDIX.

No. XXXV.

Return of His Majesty's Troops stationed in Jamaica.

CORPS.	Field-officers	Captains	Subalterns	Staff	Artificers	Sergeants	Drummers	Rank and file.	Black pioneers.
Royal engineers, Port-Royal - - -									
Royal artillery, ditto - - - - - -	1	3	5	1	4	9	6	213	15
18th (Royal Irish) reg. Up Park-Camp	3	5	16	2	2	15	18	720	58
Sixth battalion 60th reg. Falmouth -	2	6	12	1	2	56	25	499	59
Fifth West India reg. Fort-Augusta -	1	3	16	1	2	61	17	1021	
York Chasseurs, Stony Hill - - - -	1	5	17	5	2	7	13	733	54
York light inf. volunteers, Up-Park-Camp	2	7	22	3	1	7	0	1035	6
First European gar. comp. Port-Antonio			1			4		91	
First Black gar. comp. Apostles' battery		1	2			5		96	
Second black gar. comp. Fort-Nugent -		1				5	1	97	
Total - - - - - -	10	29	91	11	11	181	80	1526	232

N. B.—The 5th West-India regiment under orders for St. Thomas to sail in about ten days.

Head-quarters, Jamaica, 3d Nov. 1816.

Wm. FRASER, Acting Deputy Adjutant-general.

No. XXXVI.

His Majesty's Ships and Vessels upon the Jamaica Station, under the Command of John Erskine Douglas, Esq Rear-admiral of the Blue.—Nov. 1816.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Salisbury - - - - - -	50	—J. Mackellar, Esq.
Active - - - - - -	38	—P. Carteret, C. B.
Pique - - - - - -	36	—J. H. Tait, Esq.
Esk - - - - - -	20	—G. G. Lennock, Esq.
Tay - - - - - -	20	—Samuel Roberts, C. B.
Briseis - - - - -	10	—G. Domett, Esq.
Bermuda - - - - -	10	—John Pakenham, Esq.
Rifleman - - - - -	18	—Houston Stewart, Esq.
Primrose - - - - -	18	—C. G. R. Philiott, Esq.

N. B.—The Primrose is under orders to return to England, to be hove down and coppered. The Speedwell cutter is manned from the Salisbury.

J. E. DOUGLAS, Rear-admiral and Commander in Chief.

No. XXXVII.

Returns of the several Maroon Establishments

Moore-Town		Scot's Hall	
Officers	6	Officers	
Men	74	Men	10
Women	113	Women	1
Boys	32	Boys	
Girls	20	Girls	1
Children	148	Children	24
	393		7

Accompong-Town.		Charles Town.	
Officers	9	Officers	6
Men capable of bearing arms, residing in town	51	Men	61
residing in the country	8	Women	49
Boys residing in the town	39	Boys, including seven of thirteen years and upwards	5
Boys residing in the country	10	Girls, five of eleven years and upwards	4
Women residing in the town	56	Superannuated and invalids	1
Girls in the town	47		
Women residing in the country	15	Total resident	
Girls residing in the country	16	Non resident	1
Maroons and their children belonging to Old Maroon-Town	16	Total Maroons	83
Increase of the Maroons in 1815 and 1816	19		
Total	96		

No. XXXVIII.

A General Return of the Tonnage of all Vessels trading to and round the Island of Jamaica, between the 29th Day of September, 1815, and the 29th of September, 1816

	North of the Tropic		Within the Tropics.		
	Great Britain and Ireland	America	Spanish Main and Windward Islands	Drogger	Vessels trading from under the Report
To Kingston	59,169	36,082	3,803	18,9	12,2
Out ports	40,	19,807	3,690	1171	4,5
Total of tonnage	99,151	55,089	24,493	3065	16,9

JAMES GRENFIELD Naval Off

No. XXXIV

A General Return of Imports to the Island of Jamaica, between the 29th Day of September, 1815, and the 29th Day of September, 1816.

	Flour	Bread.			Rice.			Corn and Meal.			Peas.		Dry Fish.			
	Barrels.	Bar	Bags	Kegs	Tierc.	Bar	Bags	Bushels.	Bags	Barrels	Bar	Bags	Hhds	Casks	Boxes	Quin.
From Great Britain and Ireland	3,445	136	7144								207					
British Plantations	4,106	504	15	430	29	22			41	1,068		112	1335	5092	275	778
United States within the Tropics	39,553	353		4488	1968	1067	399	4,196	173	12,188	65	290				
Spanish Main and Islands within the Tropics	7,569	204	276	916	15	294	2450	40,110	801	245	40	30				
Total to Kingston	54,673	3697	7435	5834	2012	1383	2849	44,312	1078	13,501	312	432	1335	5092	275	778
From Great Britain and Ireland	49	9														
British Plantations	50	16							200	10			682	2017	604	
United States within the Tropics	6,015	1143	50	1314	918	357		4,878	300	2,472	185	126				
Spanish Main, &c	160	10		50	12			3,000		60		242				
Total to the out ports	6,274	1178	50	1364	930	357		7,878	500	2,542	185	368	682	2017	604	
Grand total imported	60,947	4875	7485	7198	2942	1740	2849	52 190	1578	16 043	497	800	1972	7109	3358	778

	Pickled Fish			Herrings	Stave and Heading.	Shingles.	Lumber.	Live Stock			
	Tierces	Barrels	Kegs	Barrels.			Feet.	Horses.	Mules	Asses	Cattle
From Great Britain and Ireland				15,070							
British Plantations	499	14,654	773		578,835	698,695	1,067,783	20	2		
United States within the Tropics					3,444,788	5,540,203	4,978,260	115			67
Spanish Main and Islands within the Tropics					93,630	322 517	474,111	1335	4751	43	5561
Total to Kingston	499	14,654	773	15,070	4,117,263	6,561,415	6,520,154	1470	4753	488	3628
From Great Britain and Ireland				25,134							
British Plantations	35	4,516	218		317,108	69,480	444,100				
United States within the Tropics					4,895,856	3,306,965	2,172,792	8			
Spanish Main, &c.					45,716	134,000	55,729	357	1458	63	2047
Total to the out-ports	35	4,516	218	25,134	5,258,680	3,510,415	2,672,621	365	1458	63	2047
Grand total imported	534	19,170	991	40,204	9,375,943	10,071,830	9,192,775	2025	6211	501	5675

JAMES GREENFIELD, Naval Officer

No XL

A General Return of Exports from the Island of Jamaica, between the 29th Day of September, 1815, and the 29th Day of September, 1816.

	Sugar.			Rum.				Molasses.	Ginger		Pimento		Coffee.
	Hhds.	Tierces	Barrels	Puncheons	Hhds.	Casks	Jars	Casks	Casks.	Bags.	Casks	Bags	lbs.
To Great Britain	17,780	1,100	357	2,468	174				1,427	119	239	833	7,486,393
Ireland	162	91	29	41	39				215	92	94		174,205
British Plantations	437	25	650	2,198	91	1		3	18	32	6	232	514,056
United States	506	68	272	1,825	3	4		19	212	102	180	3,044	1,614,814
Spanish Main and Islands within the Tropics			14	534	33	276	903						
Total from Kingston	19,185	1,593	1,295	7,369	340	281	903	22	1,872	345	519	4,109	9,849,473
To Great Britain	74,340	7,531	781	21,753	376			8	401	725	167	15,471	7,[illegible]218
Ireland	169	60	2	315					2		10	60	1,130
British Plantations	83	41	30	2,908	47			3			[illegible]	299	66,129
United States	104	87	128	3,310	6			133	19	48	150	8,108	140,995
Spanish Main and Islands within the Tropics				21									
Total from the out-ports	74,696	7,739	941	28,307	429			144	482	773	332	23,938	7,[illegible]9,920
Grand total exported	93,881	9,332	2,236	35,706	769	281	03	166	2,354	1,118	851	28,[illegible]71[illegible],[illegible]45	

JAMES GREENFIELD, Naval Officer

No. XLI.

General Return of the Militia of Jamaica, 18[illegible]

HORSE.	Commissioned.						Staff					Sergeants, Corporals, &c.				Total	Grand Total
	Cols.	Lieut. Cols.	Majors.	Capts.	Lieut.	Cornets	Adjutants.	Quarter-masters.	Surgeons.	Judge-advocate	Sec. and warrant	Sergeants	Corporals.	Trumpeters.	Privates.		
Middlesex . .		2	2	11	17	10	2	6	10		3	23	8	[illegible]	221	[illegible]	
Surrey	1	2	2	10	20	10		12	12			18		4	156	[illegible]	
Cornwall . . .	1	[illegible]	2	7	13	17		7	8	4	2	19	3	3	172	[illegible]	
Total . .	2	6	6	28	50	37	2	25	30	4	5	60	11	14	549	819	819

FOOT.	Commissioned.				Staff.						Sergeants.			Rank and File.				
	Field officers	Captains	Lieut.	Ensigns	Chaplains	Adjutants	Quarter-masters.	Surgeons	Ass. Surg.	Judge-advocate	Sec. and warrant	White	Of colour.	Band and drummers.	White.	Of colour.	Total	
Middlesex . .	34	56	94	56	5	7	8	14	4	3	25	72	70	73	1040	1097	2356	
Surrey . . .	29	50	87	58	6	7	7	6	8	6	15	84	66	80	1101	1140	2730	
Cornwall . .	27	53	104	57	5	6	7	7	17	6	22	113	65	72	1353	903	2814	
Total . .	90	159	285	171	16	20	22	27	29	20	62	269	201	225	3500	3140	8090	8090
																	8900	

APPENDIX.

No. XLII.

List of Slaves, Stock, and Acres of Land, Amount of Land-Tax and Poll-Tax Rolls, in the Island of Jamaica, for the Year 1816.

Parishes	Slaves.	Stock.	Acres of land.	Amount of land-tax rolls. £	s.	d.	Amount of poll-tax rolls. £	s.	d.	
St. Andrew . .	14,557	2,807	84,212	350	17	8	1,625	11	3	
St. Ann . . .	23,740	27 280	244,356	1,018	3	0	2,796	17	11	
St. Catherine .	7,124	5,540	60,749	253	2	5	1,662	17	11	
Clarendon . .	19,099	9,955	218.073	908	12	9	1,956	7	11	
St. David . . .	7,311	1,696	46,393	193	6	1	688	11	3	
St. Dorothy . .	4,661	2,904	33,802	140	6	8	567	12	11	
St. Elizabeth . .	23,497	26,649	276 918	1,153	16	6	3,115	4	2	
St. George . .	12,766	4,858	80,941	377	4	4	1,189	3	4	
Hanover . . .	23,135	8,235	107,308	447	1	11	2,259	8	9	
St. James . . .	23,907	7,120	140,866	610	18	0	2,802	19	2	
St. John . . .	6,165	1,632	60,312	253	7	8	549	18	11	
Kingston . . .	6,406	505	1,777	7	8	1	4	31	18	9
St. Mary . . .	25,568	8,692	117,576	489	18	0	2	12	11	
Portland . . .	7,715	1,979	65,611	273	7	7	767	17	11	
Port-Royal . .	6,800	791	25,789	107	9	1	572	14	2	
St. Tho. in the East	35,700	5,420	136,364	568	3	8	2,202	17	11	
St. Tho. in the Vale	11,811	3,042	77,56	333	7	11	1,151	17	6	
Trelawny . . .	28,203	6,904	180.767	753	3	11	3,181	4	2	
Vere	15,422	4,851	121,344	518	2	0	1,575	15	5	
Westmoreland .	20,454	13,631	180,974	754	1	2	2,490	0	3	
	314,038	143,949	2,274 192	9,511	18	5	37,842	12	11	

No. XLIII.

An Account of the Receipts of Cash for the four Quarters, ending the 30th of September, 1816.

	£.	s.	d.
Poll-tax, 1816 - - -	29,245	1	10
Land-tax, 1816 - - -	6,886	13	5
Deficiency, 1816 - - -	2,257	2	0
Arrears of taxes, 1815 - -	20,617	1	11
Arrears of former years - -	3,023	10	3
American duties - -	38, 59	5	5
Arms and gunpowder - -	1,22.	5	0
Surplus of the revenue - -	20,124	16	0
Loan at 6 *per cent* - - -	80,000	0	0
Rum duty - - - -	12,966	11	9
Additional duties - -	14,112	11	10
Tax upon tonnage - -	3,656	15	2
Transient poor's tax - -	4,161	19	1
Duty upon tea - - -	2,272	3	0
Stamp duties - - -	25,238	13	8
Tax upon transient traders -	482	17	5
Fees on private bills - -	160	0	0
Public provisions on hand, rum-butts, &c.	7,301	17	8
Trustees of Manning's Free-school	200	0	0
	£ 272,089	5	5

No. XLIV.

An Account of Sugar, Rum, &c. exported from the Island of Jamaica, from the Year 1800 to 1815, and of the Number of Slaves during the same Period.

Exported. Year ending 30 Sept.	Sugar.			Rum.				Molasses Casks.	Ginger.		Pimento.		Coffee.	Skins.	Negroes imported.	Negroes exported.
	Hhds.	Tierces.	Barr.	Puncheons.	Hhds	Barr.	Kegs		Bags.	Casks.	Bags.	Casks.	lbs.			
1800	96,347	13,549	1,631	37,166	1,350	—	—	—	3,586	444	12,750	610	11,116,474	300,939	20,436	3
1801	123,251	18,704	2,692	46,879	1,514	—	—	—	239	12	14,084	648	13,401,468	307,094	11,309	270
1802	129,544	15,405	2,403	45,632	2,073	475	205	366	2,079	23	7,793	591	17,961,923	307,199	8,131	2,554
1803	107,387	11,825	1,797	43,298	1,416	—	—	461	3,287	51	14,875	867	15,866,291	308,668	7,846	2,036
1804	103,352	12,802	2,207	42,207	913	—	—	429	1,854	1,094	19,572	1,417	22,065,960	308,544	5,979	1,811
1805	137,900	17,977	3,682	53,211	1,328	133	167	471	2,128	315	7,157	288	24,137,393	308,775	5,006	398
1806	133,996	13,237	3 579	58,191	1,178	—	—	499	1,818	485	19,534	1,094	29,298 036	312,341	2,487	166
1807	123,175	17,344	3,716	51,812	1,998	—	—	699	1,411	512	19,224	525	26,761,188	319,351	16,263	336
1808	121,444	15,836	2,625	52,409	2,196	—	—	372	1,470	436	6,529	225	29,528,273	323,827	3,364	309
1809	104,157	14,596	3,534	43,492	2,717	—	—	230	572	2,321	1,177	24,022	25,586,668	323,714		
1810	108,705	4,560	3,719	42,353	1,964	—	—	295	1,881	520	21,163	4,276	25,885,285	313,683	86,821	7,685
1811	127,751	15,236	3,046	54,093	2,011	—	—	446	2,072	1,110	22,074	638	17,460,068	326,830		
1812	105,285	11,357	2,558	43,346	1,531	—	—	191	1,235	804	7,778	598	18,481,896	319,915		
1813	97,458	10,029	2,304	44,618	1,345	382	874	208	1,428	816	14,361	1,024	24,623,572	317,124		
1814	101,846	10,485	2,575	43,486	1,557	1,110	202	115	1,668	884	10,711	394	34,045,585	315,385		
1815	118,767	12,224	2,817	52,996	1,165	1,392	574	242	1,667	1,493	27,386	844	27,362,742	313,814		

No. XLVI.

An Account of the Quantity of Provisions and Lumber imported into the British West Indies (exclusive of conquered Colonies) from the British Continental Colonies.—Return made to the House of Commons, May 5, 1806.

	Measure.	1773.	1788.	1793.	1797.	1800.	1803.
Corn	bushels	—	—	171	847	919	1,518
Flour and Meal	barrels 2 cwt.	330	—	1,656	1,589	320	1,374
Rice	barrels	—	—	20	—	68	2
Fish, dry	quintals	4,907	22,196	99,570	27,576	61,258	127,602
—— pickled	barrels	4,107	803	24,827	9,949	14,105	23,865
Beef and Pork	ditto	57	—	346	241	181	922
Pine boards	feet	78,013	—	3,618,290	511,390	1,039,895	2,223,179
Scantling and Timber	tons	—	—	321	39	—	186
Shingles	number	61,700	—	2,920,15	464,200	424,650	915,544
Staves	ditto	9,157	—	151,050	41,350	178,385	238,733

No. XLVII

Provisions and Lumber imported into the West Indies (exclusive of the conquered Colonies) from the United States of America.—Return made to the House of Commons, May 5, 1806.

	Measure	1773	1793.	1797	1800.	1803
Corn	bushels	401,463	241,986	333,762	445,069	647,858
Flour and Meal	ditto	135,509	130,677	178,167	163,998	431,504
Rice	ditto, &c.	35,081	12,797	9,116	13,052	9,393
Beef and Pork	barrels	14,927	140	11,306	24 503	49,203
Fish, dry	quintals	7,167	5,025	33,934	29,169	61,124
—— pickled	barrels	68,341	426	18,956	17,979	15,256
Pine boards, &c.	feet	25,589,232	14,647,724	10 766,826	23,161,441	29,960,623
Timber	tons	——	784	4,257	6,997	7,907
Shingles	number	19,862,068	23,471,922	22,990,300	33,280,408	39,857,528
Staves	ditto	19,332,880	6,964,400	6,498,634	12,306,793	13,519,453

No XLVIII

An Account of the principal Articles of Provision and Lumber imported into the British West Indies, and conquered Colonies in the West Indies, in the Years 1804 1805, and 1806, distinguishing the several Countries from which such Articles were imported

1804

	The United Kingdom	British Continental Colonies	United States of America	Other Countries
Corn, bushels	165,510	3,156	4 2,708	1 6
Bread, Flour, & Meal, cwt.	23,535	4,236	568,207	9,6 6
Rice, barrels	78	—	17,017	1
Beef and Pork, ditto	57,30	1,688	71,7	10
Fish, dry barrels	1	1	1 0	-
Fish, dry quintals	1,407	01 09	15 ,08	4. 08
——, pickled, barrels	50 949	3,05	4 ,11	-70
Butter firkins	462	5	11 01	1
Cows and Oxen	3		1 07	
Sheep and Hogs	—	100	1,1	10
Oak and Pine Boards and Timber, feet	—	14, 27	0 0 ,00	86,6 0
Shingles, feet	—	212,50	10,630,6	10,000
Staves	—	1 012 7	1 ,60,93	63,000

1805

Corn, bushel	145,762	1,096	390,520	1,47
Bread, Flour, & Meal, cwt.	37,055	2,416	424,343	10,970
Rice, barrels	33	18	7,103	1
Beef and Pork, ditto	40,046	1,754	51,389	
Fish, dry barrels	237	501	148	—
Fish, dry quintals	2,774	90,532	117,446	
——, pickled, barrels	48,829	23,025	24,525	20
Butter, firkins	40,074	240	6,484	3
Cows and Oxen	9	—	4,131	495
Sheep and Hogs	—	34	2,882	345
Oak and Pine Boards and Timber, feet	—	1,900,324	37,82 ,262	140,970
Shingles, feet	—	491,300	33,410,710	17,000
Staves	—	235,109	16,285,146	580, 00

(Continued)

No. XLVIII. (*Continued.*)

	1806.			
	The United Kingdom.	British Continental Colonies.	United States of America.	Other Countries.
Corn, bushels	238,203	2,578	386,256	1,214
Bread, Flour, & Meal, cwt.	42,905	1,176	397,906	5,375
Rice, barrels	50	—	11,100	46
Beef and Pork, ditto	56,765	1,535	39,226	944
Fish, dry barrels	365	12	452	—
Fish, dry quintals	4,637	113,937	144,908	4,588
——, pickled, barrels	55,306	36,741	47,845	2,372
Butter, firkins	56,908	337	6,593	171
Cows and Oxen	12	2	4,330	802
Sheep and Hogs	—	—	3,388	509
Oak and Pine Boards and Timber, feet	—	811,315	40,610,075	68,400
Shingles, feet	—	295,225	49,907,732	3,000
Staves	—	327,336	21,164,979	135,500

No. XLIX.

EXPORTS OF FISH.

Estimate of Quintals of Fish exported from the British Colonies in North America and Newfoundland, in the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, and 1808.

1805.

		Quintals, or Cwt.	qrs.	lb.
Dry Fish.	Cod	623,908	0	0
	Salmon, [illegible] of 5lb. each =	780	3	11
	Herrings, 2,176 boxes, 6lb. each =	438	0	12
Pickled Fish.	—— 57,441 casks, 200lb. each =	102,573	0	24
	Quintals or cwts.	727,700	0	19

1806.

		Quintals or Cwts.	qrs.	lbs.
Dry Fish	Cod	803,310	0	0
	Salmon, 17,638, of 5lb. each =	787	1	18
	Herrings, 10,388 boxes, 6lb. each =	556	2	0
Pickled Fish.	———, 78,738 casks, 200lb. each =	140,603	2	8
	Quintals or cwts.	946,769	1	26

1807.

Dry Fish.	Cod	651,537	1	0
	Salmon, 19,653 of 5lbs. each =	564	3	13
	Herrings, 12,666 boxes, 6lb. each =	678	2	8
Pickled Fish.	———, 73,683 casks, 200lb. each =	131,570	2	4
	Quintals or cwts.	784,357	0	21

1808.

Dry Fish.	Cod	695,794	0	0
	Salmon, 2,441 of 5lb. each =	118	3	27
	Herrings, 15,716 boxes 6lbs. each =	841	3	20
Pickled Fish.	———, 74,942 casks, 200lb. each =	133,825	0	0
	Quintals or cwts. . . .	830,579	3	15

No. L.

Estimate of Quintals of Fish imported into the British West-India Islands, in the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, and 1808.

1805.

		Quintals or Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.
Dry Fish.		220,357	0	0
	In 986 barrels of 100lb. each =	880	1	12
Pickled Fish.	In 97,263 barrels of 200lb. each =	194,755	1	14
	Quintals or cwts.	386,993	3	2

1806.

Dry Fish.		262,130	0	0
	In 729 barrels of 100lb. each =	650	3	10
Pickled Fish.	In 142,261 barrels of 200lb. each =	284,019	3	17
	Quintals or cwts.	546,803	3	3

1807.

Dry Fish.		230,068	0	0
	In 1,281 barrels of 100lb. each =	1,143	3	0
Pickled Fish.	In 116,040 barrels of 200lb. each =	207,214	1	1
	Quintals or cwts.	438,426	0	1

1808.

Dry Fish.		196,577	0	0
	In 3,912 barrels of 100lb. each =	3,490	3	12
Pickled Fish.	In 112,247 barrels of 200lb. each =	200,424	0	8
	Quintals or cwts.	304,510	3	0

No. LI.

Comparative Statement of Fish (dry and pickled) exported from the British North American Colonies and Newfoundland to all Parts; and of Fish (dry and pickled) imported into the British West-India Islands from the said Colonies, Newfoundland, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, during the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, and 1808.

	1805.	1806.	1807.	1808.
	Quintals, or Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Quintals, or Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Quintals, or Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Quintals, or Cwt. qrs. lbs.
Fish exported to all parts from the British North American Colonies and Newfoundland	727,700 0 0	946,766 1 26	764,357 0 21	830,579 3 17
Fish imported from all parts into the British West Indies	385,992 2 24	522,823 3 0	447,426 0 4	394,510 3 20
Excess of Export from British North America, cwt. .	341,708 1 23	423,942 2 26	316,931 0 17	436,268 3 25

The three preceding Statements are made up from Accounts obtained from the Custom-House in 1809, and were printed by order of the Committee of Merchants interested in the Trade and Fisheries of the British North American Colonies.

No LII

An Account of dry and pickled Fish imported into the British West Indies, in the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, and 1808.

	1805.		1806.		1807		1808	
Fish, Dry,	Barrels	Quintals	Barrel	Quintals	Barrels.	Quintals.	Barrels	Quintals
From the United Kingdom	237	2,774	365	4,637	636	6,919	49	31,803
——— British Continental Colonies	501	99,532	12	113,937	181	128,154	3,194	147,100
——— United States	148	118,051	352	149,556	464	105,004	669	11,674
Total imports of *Dry Fish*	886	220,357	729	268,130	1,481	239,068	3,912	190,577
Fish, Pickled,	Barrels		Barrels		Barrels		Barrels	
From the United Kingdom . .	46,829		55,306		50,386		54,023	
——— British Continental Colonies	23,580		36,741		34,305		53,833	
——— United States . . .	24,858		50,217		31,349		4,391	
Total imports of *Pickled Fish* . . .	97,263		142,264		116,040		112,247	

Custom House, London, Oct 20, 1809

No LIII

Exports direct from the West Indies to the United States of America of four staple Articles.

	Rum.	Sugar.	Coffee.	Cotton.	
	Galls.	Cwt.	Cwt.	lbs.	
1775	3,869,800	49,088	—	—	Before the separation of the United States of America.
1776	5,218,560	69,225	2,863	202,200	
1787	2,575,105	20,127	3,155	3,000	British Navigation Acts in force.
1793	536,358	9,336	836	—	
1794	2,465,177	37,606	4,586	74,369	Trade licensed by proclamation in American vessels of one deck.
1795	2,106,883	67,845	22,231	49,282	
1796	3,267,280	100,033	21,828	47,400	
1797	2,197,450	54,867	13,538	86,817	
1798	1,972,985	47,172	19,421	—	
1799	3,201,209	106,679	8,093	59,400	
1800	2,761,384	90,800	7,125	31,800	
1801	3,638,021	46,855	12,596	12,350	
1802	3,925,595	50,258	14,907	3,000	
1803	4,198,154	113,447	19,916	—	

Value of the above Exports in 1803.

	Quantity.	Value.
		£.
Rum at 5s. currency or 3s. sterling per gallon, and joe the cask, ... galls.	4,198,154	708,960
Sugar, at 40s. sterling per cwt nett from the plantation, ... cwt.	113,447	226,894
Coffee, at 4l. sterling per cwt. extra freight and ditto, ... cwt.	19,916	79,664
Cotton, at 1s. ditto, ditto, ... lbs.	—	—
Sundries, molasses, pimento, ginger, &c. &c.	—	150,000
Total value of Exports		1,165,518

No. LIV.

Exports from the United States to the British West Indies, for each of the Years ending 30th September, 1802, 1803, and 1804. From Pitkin's Statistical View.

I. Articles of domestic produce.		Quantity.			Value in Dollars		
		1802	1803	1804.	1802	1803.	1804.
Flour,	barrels	215,708	260,555	220 586	1,942,233	2,063,099	1,875,745
Bread and biscuit,	hhds ditto	69,438	75,673	71,776			
Indian corn,	bushels	630,705	815,191	446,498	557,119	670,983	620,612
Rye and Indian meal,	barrels	28,150	74,071	63,542			
Rice,	tierces	8,008	6,525	10,566	240,240	195,750	316,980
Oats, beans, pease, and potatoes.	bushels	159,769	120,404	136,055	104,771	78,018	80,910
Beef and pork,	barrels	51.088	52,087	93,582	665,074	601,314	1,163,550
Bacon and lard,	pounds	784,594	782,938	1,141,748			
Butter and cheese,	ditto	986,455	826,319	902,430	113,584	106,625	119,348
Fish, dried,	quintals	92,679	71 495	76,922	550,083	484,103	529,858
Ditto, pickled,	barrels and hhds.	33,788	29,523	37,095			
Horned cattle, hogs and sheep,	number	16,507	16,004	15,113	196 350	122,763	165,599
Horses and mules,	ditto	4,727	2,797	3,187	230,900	139 596	156,300
Staves and heading, hoops, &c.	M.	18,074	16,553	14,392			
Boards, plank, &c.	M. feet	42,831	42,206	35,499	1,216,107	866,225	890,780
Shingles,	M.	50,283	47,231	44,330			
Tobacco,	hhds.	1,398	1,335	1,378	111,840	93,450	96,460
Soap and candles,	pounds	609,196	367,772	970,619	104,231	68,131	154,424
* All other articles,	value	—	—	—	195,132	134,590	145.093
Total value					6,628,464	5,624,647	6,315,667

II. Articles of foreign produce.	Quantity.			Value in Dollars		
	1802.	1803.	1804.	1802.	1803	1804.
Merchandize, paying duties ad valorem	—	—	—	369,298	67,724	469,307
Spirits, gallons	20,235	6,514	89,848	20,235	6,514	89,848
Wines, ditto	61,130	6,899	168,022	59,119	7,768	138,243
Teas, pounds	7,330	4,204	7,303	8,055	4,953	9,751
† All other articles, value	—	—	—	4,319	4,054	24,842
Total value	—	—	—	461,026	90,973	731,991
Value of domestic produce as above	—	—	—	6,228,464	5,624,647	6,315,667
Total	—	—	—	6,689,490	5,715,620	7,047,658

* Consisting principally of pot-ashes, apples, beer, brandy, boots and shoes, cables and cordage, wool and cotton cards, pleasurable carriages, household furniture, iron castings, &c. skins and furs, sadlery, oils, spermaceti, fish, and linseed, manufactured tobacco, wax, &c

† Consisting principally of glauber salts, medicinal drugs, shoes and slippers, copper and brass, spices, &c.

No. LV

Amount of the principal Articles of Provision and Lumber imported into the West-India Colonies, from different Parts of the World, on an Average of the Years 1804, 1805, and 1806. From Pitkin's Statistical View.

	From the United States.	British Provinces	Great Britain and Ireland	Other Countries.
Flour, meal, and bread, ... cwt.	463,505	2,789	34,495	7,667
Corn, viz. Indian corn, pease, oats, beans, &c. bushels	460,189	3,276	183,168	4,432
Rice, ... barrels	11,740	6	50	139
Pork and beef, ... ditto	54,114	1,642	54,571	385
Fish, dry cod, &c. cwt.	138,484	101,692	3,302	3,298
Ditto, salt or pickled, ... barrels	38,171	27,800	57,698	991
Butter, ... firkins	8,050	204	49,818	80
Cows and oxen number	4,145	3	8	1,123
Sheep and hogs ditto	3,484	44	—	314
Oak and pine boards, and timber, ... feet	39,022,997	942,122	—	101,330
Staves, ... pieces	17,605,687	525,026	—	264,500
Shingles	43,051,704	332,925	—	13,000

No. LVI.

Imports into the United States, from the British West Indies, for each of the Years ending on the 30th September, 1802 1803, and 1804. From Pitkin's Statistical View.

Goods paying duties ad val.	Quantity			Value.			Rate of Duty.	Amount of Duty.		
	1802.	1803.	1804	1802	1803.	1804.	Cents	1802.	1803.	1804.
				dollars. cents.	dollars. cents	dollars. cents		dollars. cents.	dollars. cents.	dollars. cents.
At 12½ per. cent.	—	—	—	79,564	42,613	43,292	—	9,945 50	5,326 62	5,411 50
15 ditto . . .	—	—	—	73,543	73,614	66,653	—	11,031 45	11,042 10	9,997 95
20 ditto . . .	—	—	—	532	136	1,384	—	106 40	27 20	276 80
Spirits, galls. . .	4,212,792	3,627,838	4,356,190	2,527,675 20	2,176,702 80	2,615,714	25a 46	1,248,611 67	1,063,537 59	1,295,999 72
Salt, bush. . . .	801,803	758,422	801,249	200,450 75	189,605 50	200,312 25	20	160,360 60	151,684 40	160,249 80
Sugar, lbs. . . .	10,783,925	14,900,910	11,961,375	862,714	1,192,072 80	956,910	2½ - 3	271,465 92	372,948 25	300,369 38
Coffee, ditto . . .	1,764,391	1,909,734	1,997,162	441,097 75	477,433 50	499,290 50	5	88,219 55	95,486 70	99,856 10
Molasses, galls. . .	569,813	598,799	626,360	170 946 90	179,639 70	187,908	5	28,491 15	29,959 95	31 318
Pimento, lbs . .	219.647	721,094	518,498	26,357 74	86,531 28	62,219 76	4	8,735 88	28,843 76	20,7 9 92
Cotton, ditto . .	65,193	50,436	11,534	16,298 25	14,859	2,883 50	3	1,955 79	1,783 8	346 2
* All other art. v.	—	—	—	87,711 37	59,634 39	104,619 1	—	15,467 78	10,031 18	15,291 48
Total . .	—	—	—	4,486,690 86	4,492 861 97	4,739,136 2	—	1,844,441 69	1,770,650 81	1,939,859 12

* Consisting principally of wines, teas, cheese, cigarrs, nails, lead, cordage, coal, boots and shoes, cocoa, indigo, &c.

No. LVII.

The total Shipping employed between Great Britain and the West-India Colonies, in their repeated Voyages, were

		Tons.	Seamen	Tons.	Seamen.
In 1804	Inwards	197,680	15,596		
	Outwards	236,510	17,680		
	Total			434,190	33,276
		Tons.	Seamen.		
In 1814	Inwards	316,090	25,000		
	Outwards	334,431	25,000		
	Total			650,521	50,000
	Total Increase			216,331	16,724

No. LVIII.

Amount of net Duties of Custom and Excise on the following Articles imported from the West-India Colonies into Great Britain, and Ireland, in the Years ended January 5, 1809, 10, 11, 12, and 13.

	Year ended Jan. 5, 1809.		Year ended Jan. 5, 1810		Year ended Jan. 5. 1811.		Year ended Jan. 5, 1812		Year ended Jan. 5, 1813.		Total.
	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Great Britain.	Ireland	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Great Britain.	Ireland	Great Britain.	Ireland	
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1. Sugar . .	3,813,315	497,241	3,246,586	505,955	3,914,074	348,741	2,868,232	467,949	3,580,223	522,227	18,869,583
2. Rum . .	1,897,136	162,266	1,897,514	548,068	2,115,282	173 311	1,620,454	77,578	1 627,26-	149,813	10,269,096
3. Molasses .	698	626	3,074	238	998	97	2,270	83	7,354	120	15,556
4. Coffee & Cocoa	239,792	7,150	178,91'	10,966	168,140	6,825	206 103	15,458	238,124	14,759	1,087,318
5. Cotton . .	231,208	11,950	526,720	26,234	592,4'0	27,208	460,655	30.466	426,271	17,849	2,357,750
6. Ginger . .	3,650	564	3,472	511	2,235	428	3,808	1,123	2, 5	780	18,796
7. Pimento . .	6 217	—	8,489	576	7,451	423	9,594	1 078	4,79-	778	39 340
8. Tamarinds .	958	—	1,439	—	1,365	—	1,63-	—	1,48-	—	6,774
9. Castor Oil	479	—	1,407	—	2 372	—	2,601	—	5,194	—	12,253
10. Fustic . .	2,645	—	4,146	—	5,275	—	7,107	—	5,271	—	24 931
11. Logwood .	2,134	—	2,404	—	3,387	—	4,7-2	—	2,14-	—	18,102
12. Mahogany .	21 391	1,685	24,041	1 658	50,98	2,212	51 ,72	2,281	9 761	3,96	00, 2
	*6.224,800	680 90-	6,848.2 c	1 094,026	5,9-3,74-	559.215	5,945,1 1	595,816	5,9-3,954	710,2 6	32, 26,1

* These duties are exclusive of sundry small articles, as arrow-root, sweetmeats, &c. &c. not amounting to 1000l. each, and not particularly specified in the former accounts.

No. LIX.

SLAVE REGISTRY ACT

For more effectually preventing the unlawful Importation of Slaves, and the holding Free Persons in Slavery, in the British Colonies. Ordered by the House of Commons of the United Kingdom to be printed, 5th July, 1815.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS the illicit and clandestine importation of slaves into British colonies, wherein slavery is established by law, and the holding and detaining in slavery there of such negroes, mulattoes, and mustees, as by reason of such illicit importation, or otherwise, are lawfully entitled to their freedom, cannot be effectually and certainly prevented, without some better provision than the laws in force within the said colonies have made for ascertaining the number, and identifying the persons of the slaves now within the same, and of the future issue of the female slaves, upon whom, by the laws of the said colonies, the condition of slavery descends:

And whereas by reason of the intercourse between the said colonies, and the frequent passage and removal of slaves from one British colony to another, and the frequent transfers of property in slaves within the said colonies, by sale, mortgage, and otherwise, made by and to persons resident in the united kingdom, and for other reasons, the necessary provisions and regulations for the purposes aforesaid cannot be fully and effectually made by the separate interior legislatures of the said colonies respectively, but only by the authority of Parliament.

ENACTMENTS.

1. There shall be established in every colony, now or

hereafter under the dominion of his Majesty, his heirs, &c in the West Indies or America, or elsewhere, in which slavery is established or permitted by law, a public registry, for the registration and enrolment of the names and descriptions of all negroes, mulattoes, and mustees, and all slaves shall be registered or returned for registration, within the following times (that is to say) in every such colony in the West Indies, or in America, Jamaica excepted, within the term of in Jamaica, within the term of and in all more distant parts of the world, within the term of to be respectively computed from the passing of this act: Provided always, that every such island within the government of the leeward Charibbee islands, or any other government comprising more islands than one, as has a separate legislative assembly and courts of law of its own, shall be deemed and taken to be a separate colony for the purpose of this act: and that all other islands within such governments shall not be so deemed and taken, but the slaves therein shall be registered in the registry of the nearest island within the same government in which a public registry shall be established as aforesaid.

2. It shall be lawful for his Majesty to appoint a registrar of slaves in each and every of the said colonies; and in default of any such appointment, &c. it shall be lawful for the governor, &c. to appoint some fit and proper person, resident within such colony, to be registrar of slaves therein; which registrar, so to be appointed by his Majesty, or such governor, &c. shall take the following oath before such governor, &c. in council, (that is to say)

"I *A. B.* do solemnly promise and swear, that I will not willingly or knowingly make or permit, or suffer to be made, any false or fraudulent entry, erasure, or obliteration, in the registry of slaves to be committed to my charge; but if any such false or fraudulent act shall become known to me, will immediately give notice thereof to the governor, lieutenant-governor, or civil commander in chief of this colony for the time being; and will in all respects faithfully and uprightly

perform the duties of the office of registrar of slaves for this colony.—So help me God."

And every person, so appointed to the said office of registrar, shall become bound by bond or recognizance, with two sufficient sureties, in the penal sum of with condition for the faithful performance of all the duties of his office.

3. The governor, &c. shall provide a proper and convenient house or building within or near to the chief town of the colony, for the sole purpose of the registry.

4. The registrar shall provide two large blank paper books, or sets of books, for the purpose of the registry, one of which books shall be entitled "Registry of Plantation Slaves," and the other "Registry of Personal Slaves."

5. As soon as conveniently may be, after the passing of this act, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for the colonial department shall cause a sufficient number of copies of this act, printed by his Majesty's printer, (and which are hereby declared to be legal evidence thereof in all courts of justice.) to be officially dispatched and transmitted by different conveyances to the governor, lieutenant-governor, or civil commander in chief of every colony under the dominion of his Majesty, in which slavery is established, or permitted by law: and immediately after the receipt of any such official dispatch, with any such copy of this act, every such governor, lieutenant-governor, or civil commander in chief, shall cause the same to be publicly notified in the most effectual manner in the colony under his government, and shall express in such notification the particular day at, or before which, the owners or possessors of slaves within the colony are to return lists or schedules of the slaves owned or possessed by them, pursuant to the directions hereinafter contained; and shall, for the fuller and speedier information of all persons within the colony, cause this act to be reprinted and published there, unless a sufficient number of copies hereof, for the use of the colony, shall have been transmitted to, and received by him as aforesaid.

6 On or before the day to be appointed, every person who shall then be resident in any colony, and who shall be in possession of any plantation slaves or slave, within the same, whatever his or her title, trust, or interest in any such slaves or slave, plantation or personal, may be, shall respectively make and deliver upon oath to the registrar, a schedule or list in writing for each plantation of which he or she shall then be in possession in any of the rights or characters aforesaid, therein specifying, in the first place, the name by which the plantation is usually called or known; and, when two or more plantations are held and occupied together by the same person, and cultivated by the same body or gang of slaves, the names of each of the said plantations so jointly held and cultivated, and in what parish, quarter, or other division of the same island, every such plantation is situated, and whether the same is a sugar plantation, or coffee, or cotton, or stock plantation, or of what other description the same shall be; and, in the next place, the name or names of the present owner or owners of such plantation or plantations, as well as of the person or persons then in possession of the same, and the right or character in which the party making such return holds such possession; namely, whether as proprietor, lessee, mortgagee, trustee, receiver, attorney, manager, or otherwise; and when the property or possession of any such plantation has been changed within seven years prior to such return thereof, then the said schedule shall also mention the name of the last owner or proprietor, and in whose tenure or occupation the same lately was, and every person making a return of any slave or slaves, not attached or belonging to any plantation in the said island, hereby called "personal slaves," shall so return a list or schedule in writing, containing, in the first place, his or her own name and description, and the name and description of such other person or persons being the owner or owners of such slave or slaves, on whose behalf the return is made, and the right or character in which the party making such return

holds possession of and claims title to such slave or slaves, namely, whether as proprietor, lessee, mortgagee, sequestrator, guardian, committee, trustee, receiver, executor, administrator, or otherwise; and if such personal slave or slaves shall have been purchased or acquired within seven years prior to such return, then the name or names of the seller or last former owner thereof; and after such descriptions as aforesaid, of such plantation and its owner or owners, and of the owner or owners of such personal slaves respectively, in the said schedule, the parties making the said returns shall proceed to name, describe, and enumerate distinctly therein, the several negro, mulatto, and other slaves, then attached or belonging to the same plantation, or to the same owner or owners, by distinct lists, in manner following; (that is to say,) in the first place, such schedule shall contain a list of all slaves who have husbands or wives, either by actual marriage, or known and constant cohabitation, or who have parents or children, brothers or sisters, among the slaves of the said plantation, or of the same owner or owners; which list shall be entitled, "The List of Families of Slaves on the Plantation of A. B." (inserting the proper name of the plantation) or of C. D. the owner of personal slaves, as the case may be; and the said list shall be divided into as many sections as there are different families to be inserted therein, and each section shall be entitled, "The Family of A. B." (inserting the name of the superior relation) or where there are only brothers or other relations of the same degree, the name of the elder individual; and each of the said schedules shall also contain two other lists, in one of which shall be inserted the names of such male slaves, and in the other the names of such female slaves, as have no wives or husbands, parents or children, brothers or sisters, among the slaves of the same plantation, or the same owner or owners; which lists shall be respectively entitled, "General List of Male Slaves," and "General List of Female Slaves," on the plantation A. B. (inserting the proper name of the plantation,)

or "belonging to C. D." as the case may be; and all the slaves attached or belonging to the same plantation, or the same owner or owners, shall be named and described in the said schedule respectively, and in the particular lists or sections to which they respectively belong, in the manner and form following; (that is to say,) the schedule or paper containing each of the said lists shall be divided into eight perpendicular columns of convenient breadths, respectively entitled at the heads thereof, names, surnames, colours, employments, age, stature, country, and marks; to which shall be added in the lists of families, a ninth column of convenient breadth, entitled, "Relations;" and, the more clearly to distinguish the description of each particular slave, as many horizontal lines, with convenient spaces between them, shall be drawn across the said perpendicular lines or columns, as are equal in number to the number of slaves to be inserted in each list; and in the first of the said columns shall be inserted the name of baptism of each slave, if he or she shall have been baptised, and if not, the name by which he or she has been usually called and known; in the second of the said columns shall be inserted the surname, or second name of the slave, if he or she has ever been called or known by any surname or second name; and if not, then in cases of family slaves included in the said lists of families, the name of the superior relation; and in the cases of slaves who are included in the said general lists of males and females, such name as the owner or party making the return, shall think fit to insert therein, as the surname by which the slave and his lawful issue, or her natural issue and their descendants respectively, shall thereafter always be called: provided nevertheless, that in cases of family slaves, the owner or party making the return may also give, if he thinks fit, some other family name, instead of that of the superior relation, so as no two families on the same plantation, or belonging to the same owner, shall have the same surname in the said schedule or return; but for all the purposes of this act, the surname by

which each slave shall first be returned or registered, shall continue for ever after to be the surname of such slave, and of his lawful issue if a male, or her natural issue if a female, and of their respective descendants, and shall not afterwards be changed; in the third of the said columns shall be inserted negro, mulatto, or mustee, as the case may be, or such designation of intermediate shades of colour (if any) as are in use within the colony; in the fourth of the said columns shall be inserted, the particular trade, occupation, or ordinary employment of the slave, specifying in the cases of mechanics, artisans, or handicraftsmen, the particular art or business in which he or she is usually employed; in the case of domestic slaves, the particular domestic service or department in which he or she is usually employed; and in cases of ordinary plantation slaves, describing them as labourers only; and in the fifth of the said columns shall be inserted the age of the slave, according to the best of the knowledge and belief of the owner or other party making the return; in the sixth of the said columns shall be inserted the exact stature in feet and inches, by actual measurement of the slave, which measurement, in cases of infant slaves, or such as have not clearly attained their full growth, shall be repeated prior to every triennial return hereinafter directed to be made; in the seventh of the said columns shall be inserted, not only whether the slave is an African or Creole negro, but if an African, the name of the country or district of Africa from which he or she was brought; and, if a Creole slave, the island or colony in which such slave was born, or from which he or she was brought, according to the best of the knowledge or information and belief of the owner or other party making the return; and in the eighth of the said columns shall be inserted, whether the slave has any, and what scars and marks on the face or other parts of the body, such as African slaves commonly have, and which are usually called country marks, or any such brands or marks as are used in some colonies for distinguishing the owner's property,

or has any apparent bodily singularity, defect, or deformity; all which shall be specified with convenient certainty, so as at least to mention the part of the face or body wherein the marks, brands, defects, or other singularity appears; and lastly, in the further column, to be added as aforesaid in the lists of family slaves, shall be inserted the relation that the slave bears to the superior relative or slave by whose name the family section of the list to which he belongs is entitled as aforesaid, with such further particulars of genealogy or family connexion as the owner or party making the return shall think fit to add; and at the end of the said returns respectively, shall be summed up and set down in words at length, the whole number of slaves then belonging to the plantation for which, or to the owner or owners of personal slaves on whose behalf, such returns are made. And for the better ascertaining of the proper form of such returns of slaves as are hereby required to be made, so that no person may pretend ignorance thereof, a form or example of such returns is contained in a schedule to this act annexed, to which all persons are required, so far as shall be found practicable, to conform; and at the time of notifying and publishing this act in any colony as aforesaid, public notice shall be given by the said governor, lieutenant-governor, or civil commander in chief, in such manner as to him shall feel most fit and effectual, that a form or pattern of the returns hereby required to be made may be seen, and a printed copy thereof, with blanks to be filled up according to the rules aforesaid, obtained at the registrar's office, to be appointed as aforesaid; and printed blank copies of the said forms shall accordingly be provided by the registrar, and delivered to all persons applying for the same, at a price not exceeding . for each printed copy.

7. Every person making and subscribing any schedule, shall personally deliver the same, either to the said registrar, or to the person by him appointed to receive returns or schedules, in the proper district of the colony in which the

party making the same shall reside; and shall at the same time take the following oath, which the said registrar, and every person by him appointed, is hereby empowered and required to administer

"I *A B* (name the deponent) do solemnly swear, that the schedule or return now by me delivered to be registered, contains, as I verily believe, a just, true, and full return, account, and description of all the slaves now attached or belonging to the plantation therein named, [or, belonging to the owner or owners therein named,] and being within this colony; and that the said return is made by me, according to the best of my knowledge and belief, truly, and without fraud, deceit, or evasion —So help me God."

8. From and after the day appointed, no return shall be received, except in such special cases as in this act are afterwards provided for.

9. As soon as any schedules shall have been received by the registrar, he shall proceed to register the same with all convenient speed. Governors may enlarge the time for completing the registration of returns. Proviso, that before any extension of time, the whole number of slaves returned to be ascertained on oath by the registrar, before the governor.

10. Returns or schedules shall be entered in the books of registry, in a prescribed manner and form.

11. Slaves within a certain number shall be registered in one book, when the number is greater, in a set of books.

12. When the books are filled, new books shall be opened, and in what manner.

13. Indexes of plantations or owners' names shall be prefixed to each book.

14. No erasures shall be permitted in the register book

15. Office copies of the registered lists or returns shall be delivered to the owners.

16 When all the returns are registered, notice thereof shall be given, and of the means of supplying omissions within a limited time.

17. Governors shall have power to direct returns to be received and registered after the limited time, in certain cases.

18. The end of the term of every registrar shall proceed finally to close and authenticate the primary or original registration of all the slaves in the colony for which he acts, which shall thenceforth be called "The Original Registry of the Slaves of such Colony," in manner prescribed; and shall subscribe his name, and affix his seal of office; and below the said signature shall write the following affidavit; setting forth that he has twice carefully examined and compared all the preceding entries, &c. &c.; and that he is enabled thereby to depose, and does depose, that the preceding original registry of slaves is in all respects correctly and faithfully made.

19. Alphabetical indexes of notes of registered slaves shall be made and entered in general index books.

20. Duplicate books of the original registry shall be prepared and transmitted to England.

21. Triennial returns of slaves shall be hereafter made, and how.

22. Triennial returns shall be delivered on oath.

23 The registrar, on the receipt of triennial returns, shall forthwith proceed to correct, enlarge, and continue pursuant thereto, the former registry of the plantation slaves and personal slaves, to which such returns respectively shall relate, in manner following: (that is to say,) the said registrar shall, in the first place, carefully compare such returns, and the names and descriptions of slaves therein contained, with the original registry of the slaves of the same plantation or plantations respectively, and of such other plantation within the colony, from which any of the said slaves may be stated to have been newly purchased or transferred, or of the same owner or owners of personal slaves, and of any former owner or owners thereof, under whom the present owner or owners thereof shall derive his or their title; and also, with all in-

termediate continuations and corections of the said original registry by former triennial returns, so as to ascertain, not only that the whole number of slaves mentioned in the said returns corresponds with the original and former entries of slaves belonging to the same plantation or plantations, owner or owners respectively, (having regard to all former continuations and corrections) but also that the descriptions of all slaves of such triennial returns named and described, correspond with such former descriptions thereof, (if any,) as are in the said books of registry contained, except so far as such descriptions are in any particular stated to have been altered in respect to stature or bodily marks, since the last registered returns; and, in case there shall be found any apparent inconsistency between any such triennial returns and the said original or former triennial registries of slaves, belonging to the same plantation or plantations, owner or owners respectively; or if, in the case of any slave or slaves returned as newly acquired by purchase or transfer, succession or reversion, from any other plantation or plantations, or former owner or owners within the same colony, there shall not appear in the return of the same period for such other plantation or former owner or owners, a corresponding entry of the same slaves, as deducted by sale or transfer, determination of estate, or otherwise, from the last registered stock of such other plantation or plantations, or former owner or owners the registrar shall give notice thereof to the owner or owners, or other party or parties making any such return or returns and require him or them to attend before him the said registrar, to explain or remove such apparent inconsistency or defect; and until the same shall be accordingly done to the entire satisfaction of the said registrar, by an examination upon oath, if necessary, (which oath the said registrar is hereby empowered to administer) the said registrar shall not proceed to register any such triennial returns so apparently defective or erroneous; but the party or parties refusing or omitting so to explain, and, if necessary, to correct the same,

shall, for all the purposes of this act, be deemed and taken to have omitted to make any return for the period to which such defective return relates; saving, nevertheless, to him or them, such remedy by appeal, as is hereinafter provided, in case of any error or misconduct herein by the said registrar.

24. Immediately from and after such comparison and examination, as aforesaid, every return which shal. be found .o be not inconsistent, &c. shall be registered in the said books of registry, (that is to say) when any such returns shall state that there has been no alteration in the number or descriptions of the slaves, since the last returns for the same plantation, or the said owner or owners of personal slaves, the said registrar shall carry forward the whole number so last returned to a new folio or double page in the said original book of registry, and shall enter and insert under the same "no alteration by return of the year one thousand eight hundred and . . , as by return dated , " and shall subscribe his name to such entry; but as to slaves stated in any such triennial returns to have died, or to have been sold or otherwise transferred, or to have been manumitted, or to have permanently deserted, the said registrar shall write in the column of corrections of the said original registry and of every intermediate triennial registry, wherein the name of any such deceased, sold, transferred, or manumitted slave or deserter shall have been inserted in the proper space of the said column, opposite the name of such slave, the word "dead" or "sold, transferred, manumitted," or "deserted," as the case may be; and the said registrar shall then proceed to sum up the number of all slaves, which, by any of the means aforesaid, have been deducted from the former and last registered account of the stock of slaves belonging to the same plantation, or to the same owner or owners of personal slaves, as the case may be, since the said last registered returns, and shall deduct the whole number thereof from the last registered account of slaves of such plantation, owner or owners, and shall carry forward the

remaining number thereof to a new folio or double page of the proper book of registry, making a written reference thereto at the foot of the folio from which the same is carried, and subscribing the same with his name; and in such new folio or double page, and in as many successive folios as may be necessary, shall be afterwards inserted the names and description of all slaves mentioned in the same triennial returns to have been newly added to the former registered stock by any of the lawful means aforesaid; distinguishing not only the several families and all other particulars, as in the said original registry, but also the particular mode of acquisition of every such newly added slave, by the word "born, purchased, returned, imported," or such other brief designation as may be applicable to each case.

25. At the end of the registration of each triennial return, the whole number of slaves then belonging to each plantation or owner shall be summed up and entered.

26. Omissions of returns from accidents, or unavoidable impediments, or defaults of persons, not the absolute owners, are to be supplied.

27. General accounts or abstracts of triennial returns shall be made out by registrars, and authenticated on oath, and transmitted to England.

28. If returns are unduly received, or refused for registration by the registrar, parties aggrieved may appeal to the governor, and from him to the king in council, giving security, &c.

29. Penalties shall be levied on the registrar, his deputies, and clerks, for making or permitting any false or fraudulent entries in the books of registry, and for fraudulent erasures, &c. and for such offences by other persons.

30. If any person, making any original or triennial return of slaves, shall falsely and wilfully insert therein any name or description of any slave, or pretended slave, belonging to any plantation, or owner, &c. knowing that such slave, &c. as shall be so named, &c. doth not in fact belong, at the time

of making such return, to such plantation, &c. any person so offending shall forfeit, for every slave, or pretended slave, so falsely returned, the sum of . Provided, that no person shall be liable to any such penalty, in respect of any slave which he shall prove to have been, at the time of the return, actually employed upon the plantation, or in the service of the asserted owner, to which the same were represented by such return to belong; although he or she shall not be able to prove that the property in such slave or slaves was such as was stated in the return, except when the prosecutor shall give evidence, beyond the falsification of the return, in the point of property, to show that the same was fraudulent or wilfully false.

31. The certificates of registrars shall be evidence.

32. Registrar to be entitled to certain fees, to be reduced from sterling money into current money of the respective colonies.

33. Registrars shall not own slaves; and shall reside in the colony for which they are appointed.

34. And whereas it is necessary or expedient, for effectually preventing the fraudulent introduction and registration of slaves brought from Africa, or foreign colonies, under pretence of their having been brought from a British colony, to regulate the manner in which the exportation and carriage, and importation of slaves, sent from one British colony to another, and their registration under this act, shall hereafter be permitted. Whenever any slave shall be sent from any colony, now or hereafter under the dominion of his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, in which a registry of slaves shall have been established pursuant to this act, with intent that such slave shall be removed to, and remain in some other colony, under the dominion of his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, the owner, or other person sending any such slave, shall first send to and lodge in the registry of the colony, from which such slave shall be sent, a declaration in writing,

signed by the owner of such slave, or by some person by such owner empowered and authorized in that behalf, setting forth the registered name and description of such slave, and declaring that the same is meant to be exported from that colony, and to be sent to and remain in another British colony, therein specified, and desiring a certificate thereof; and if it shall thereupon appear to the registrar, that the slave named and described in such declaration, is duly registered in his office as the property of the owner, by whom or on whose behalf such declaration is made, he shall forthwith register the exportation of such slave, in the proper book or books of registry in his office, by writing in the column of corrections of the said original registry, and of every triennial registry wherein the name of such slave shall be registered, the words "Exported to ;" (naming the colony,) and shall deliver to the said owner, or such other person empowered and authorized by him, an extract certified by him, the said registrar, of the name, &c; which certified extract shall be produced to the collector or other principal officer of his Majesty's customs, at the port at which any such slave shall be shipped; and shall be by such collector or other principal officer, indorsed with his own name and hand-writing, and shall be annexed to the clearance or permit to be given for the shipment of such slave; and shall, on the arrival at the port in any other British colony, to which the same shall be destined, be produced also to the collector or principal officer of the customs, at such last-mentioned port, who shall examine the same, and also shall ascertain, by personal inspection, whether the negro, mulatto, or other person, agree in bodily description with the slave, mentioned in such certificate and clearance; and if not, shall refuse to admit the same to an entry, but in case of such agreement, shall indorse such certificate with his name and hand-writing, and the said certificate, so indorsed, shall be forthwith produced to, and left with the registrar

for slaves of such last-mentioned colony, and shall be by him filed in his office, as his necessary warrant for registering such slave, as newly imported, &c.

35. Penalties shall be levied, for exporting or sending slaves from one British colony, under an alleged or actual destination, to another, without certificates from the registrar. Proviso as to domestic slaves attending their masters, and as to mariners.

36. After the close of the original registry, no estate or property in slaves to be created or transferred, unless they shall have been duly registered.

37. After the said final closing of the original registry of slaves in any colony, it shall not be lawful to hold in slavery, nor to use or treat as a slave, in such colony, any negro, or mulatto, or other person, who shall not have been first duly registered as a slave, but that every negro, mulatto, or other person, within the said island, not so registered as a slave, shall be deemed and taken to be free; except only fugitive slaves, from any other colony or place in the West Indies, apprehended within such colony, who shall be detained in custody by authority of any court or magistrate, for the purpose of being delivered up to their owners: provided, that nothing herein contained shall entitle any negro, mulatto, or other person, not duly registered as a slave upon the original, or any triennial return of slaves, to his or her freedom, for that cause alone, until it shall be seen whether, at the first or next triennial period for making such returns, or within such further periods as are hereinafter in certain cases allowed, such defect or registration may not be proved, on the part of his or her owner, to have arisen from accident, or some unavoidable or excusable cause, such as is hereinbefore and hereinafter, in certain cases, allowed and provided for, and whether such defect may not be thereupon, at such first or next triennial period of registration, or within such further periods as aforesaid, lawfully remedied and supplied in manner hereinbefore and hereinafter authorized and directed;

but if in the mean time, and prior to such first or next triennial period of registration, &c. any question shall arise as to the right of any such negro, mulatto, or other person, to enjoy his or her freedom, by force and virtue of this act, or the right of the alleged owner to treat him or her as a slave, the court, or magistrate, before whom any such question shall be brought, shall forthwith give notice thereof to the governor, for the time being, who is hereby empowered and directed to make all such orders for the employment, support, protection, government, and restraint of such negro, mulatto, or other person, as shall be necessary or proper for the prevention, on the one hand, of his or her being sent out of the jurisdiction of the courts of the colony, or otherwise ill-treated or oppressed, by the authority of the asserted owner, and on the other hand, for the preventing such negro, mulatto, or other person, from withdrawing himself or herself from the said jurisdiction, until his or her lawful condition as a slave or free person, so far as the same may depend on this act, shall, by the registration, or non-registration of him or her as a slave, pursuant to the provisions hereinbefore contained, at the first or next triennial period of registration, or within such further period as is hereinafter, in certain cases, allowed for that purpose, be ascertained and decided.

38. When necessary, in any action or suit, to prove the owners' property in slaves, they shall, in the first place, be shown to be duly registered. Proviso, that no default of tenant for life, or years, &c. in not registering slaves, shall entitle them to freedom, to the prejudice of persons entitled in remainder or reversion, who afterwards shall conform to this act. Provisos that default of mortgagees in possession shall not prejudice mortgagors, &c; and mortgagors in possession shall not prejudice mortgagees, &c; and of trustees, guardians, &c. shall not prejudice the persons beneficially entitled, &c. Provided, and in order to entitle any remainder-man, reversioner, mortgagor or mortgagee, or per-

son beneficially interested under any trust or otherwise, to keep and hold in slavery any negro, mulatto, &c. or other person, who by the default of the tenant for life or years, &c. shall not have been duly registered as a slave, it shall be necessary for such remainder-man, &c. to take possession of such unregistered slave, or to commence some action or suit for the recovery thereof, within the term of ; or if such remainder-man, &c. shall not be resident in the colony within the term of after he, she, or they shall have received any notice of such default of registration, and within two years, at the most, from the time of such default, and duly to prosecute such action: and also to give notice in writing to the registrar within after such possession taken, or action or suit commenced, that such default of registration has been discovered, and will be thereafter supplied by such remainder-man, &c. or person beneficially entitled, pursuant to the provisions of this act: and it shall be further necessary for such remainder-man, &c. or person beneficially entitled, at the next annual period appointed for the registration of slaves in such colony, and within at the most from the time of such default, to make such full and particular return, &c. as is hereinbefore directed to be made for the purpose of the original registration of the slaves in the said colonies, together with an affidavit in writing, to be sworn before the said registrar, stating the time, and the particular nature of the former default of registration, and the time and manner of his or her discovery thereof, and by whom the same was committed or incurred, and by what estate and interest such defaulter was in possession of such slave, at the time of such default of registration; and shewing under what settlement or conveyance, or by what other means he or she, the said reversioner, remainder-man, &c. making such return, was entitled to some, and what specified estate, &c. in, to, or upon, such slave, at the time of such default of registration; and averring positively that such negro or mulatto, or other person so returned as a slave, is

really and rightfully such the former default of registration only excepted, and specifying how such servile condition lawfully arose, namely, whether by the alleged slave having been lawfully held in slavery in the same colony, prior to the original registration of slaves hereby directed, or having been since born of some, and what female slave, duly registered as such within the same colony, or having been lawfully imported into the same, from some, and what other British colony at some time, and when, subsequent to the said original registration of slaves: and it is hereby provided and enacted that such affidavit, being duly filed in the said registry, the registrar shall examine the return to which the same relates; and if it appears on the face thereof to be such a return as ought, if true, to be received and registered according to the intent and meaning of this act, he shall proceed to require such further proof thereof, as the nature of the case may afford, and especially by the production of any negro or mulatto, or other person described in the said return as a slave, to be by him, the said registrar, personally inspected, and privately examined; and also, by the production of any deeds or other instruments mentioned in the said affidavit, or duly authenticated copies thereof, and by reference to entries in the said registry as to the alleged mother or female ancestors of such asserted slave, and by reference in respect of any slave, asserted to have been imported from other British colonies, to the certificates of his or her lawful importation, hereinbefore directed to be brought into and filed in the said office: and, for the better investigation of any facts stated in any such return, the said registrar shall have power to examine the party or parties making the same upon oath, if he shall think fit; and if after such examination and proof, the said registrar shall think the said return to be sufficiently verified (and not otherwise) he shall submit the same, and the evidence in support thereof to the governor, &c. for the time being, who, if the same shall be satisfactory, shall order the same to be registered; and the said

registrar shall accordingly proceed duly to register the same; but any party or parties aggrieved by an erroneous decision of the said registrar herein, shall and may have such remedy by appeal.

39. And for the better enabling all remainder-men, &c. and all persons beneficially entitled to or interested in any slaves in any of the said colonies, in possession of any tenants for life or years, or other particular tenants, or of any mortgagees, &c. to discover any default of the party or parties in possession of such slaves, in not duly returning the same to be registered in the said original registration of slaves, and thereupon to have and use the remedies hereby provided; it is hereby further ordered, that it shall and may be lawful to and for every person, that is or may be legally or beneficially entitled to or interested in any slave in any of the said colonies, in remainder, &c. which slave is in the immediate possession of any tenant for life or years, or other particular estate, or of any mortgagor, &c. thereof, once within the term of from the time of the said original registration of slaves, and at any part of that term, by himself or herself, or his or her attorney or agent, to give notice in writing to the party or parties in possession of any such slave, that he or she, the said person legally or beneficially entitled or interested, or his or her attorney therein named and described, will attend at the house, plantation, or place, where such slave or slaves is or are usually kept and employed, at some day, and some convenient hour in the daytime, specified in such notice, and not less than after the service thereof, then and there to inspect the said slave or slaves, and compare him, her, or them, in point of numbers and descriptions, with any office copy of the registered returns; at which time and place the party in possession of such slave or slaves shall, by himself or herself, or his or her attorney, manager, or agent, produce the same accordingly, and submit such slave or slaves to the inspection and examination of the said party so entitled or interested, or

his or her said attorney, or in default thereof, without some necessary and unavoidable impediment (the proof whereof shall lie upon such defaulter,) shall forfeit and pay for every slave omitted to be so produced, the sum of .

40 For the better protection of the rights of infants, &c. a commission shall be issued by the governor.

41. Penalty shall be levied on trustees, guardians, &c. not producing slaves for the inspection of the commissioners, or who shall wilfully have omitted to return slaves for registration, &c.

42. Compensations shall be allowed to the commissioners.

43. Slaves after being duly registered in the colony as such, shall not be entitled to freedom for default of triennial returns, except as against the defaulters, &c.

44. When slaves become entitled to freedom by wilful default of tenant for life, trustee, &c. the defaulter shall be liable in damages, &c. to the party prejudiced.

45. If any person or persons shall, by means of any false or fraudulent return or entry, by him, her, or them, or by or with his, her, or their procurement, consent, privity, or knowledge, made in the registry of any of the said colonies, keep or hold, or attempt to keep or hold in slavery, any African or other negro, or mulatto, or other coloured person, lawfully entitled to freedom, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted, he, she, or they, shall forfeit and pay, for every African or negro, mulatto, or other coloured person, the subject of any such offence, the sum of the one moiety to the governor, &c. and the other moiety thereof to such person as shall sue, inform, and prosecute for the same, with full costs of suit, to be recovered as hereinafter-mentioned, and shall, moreover, after any such conviction, be for ever after incapable of owning, holding, or possessing any slave or slaves, within any of the British colonies.

46. Orders in Council for registering the slaves of Trinidad, St. Lucia, and the Isle of France, shall cease to have

any force or effect, except as to acts done prior to a limited period

47 Returns and registrations under those orders, prior to a time to be limited, shall be effectual, as if made in pursuance of this act.

48. A public office to be called "The General Registry of Colonial Slaves," shall be established in the city of London, and a general registrar to be appointed to manage and conduct such office.

49. Every such general registrar, before he enters on the execution of his said office, shall be sworn "faithfully and uprightly to perform the duties of the office, to the best of his judgment and ability," before the chief justice, or one of the justices of his Majesty's courts of King's Bench, or Common Pleas, of the chief baron, or one of the barons of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer, or before one of the masters of the High Court of Chancery, who are hereby respectively empowered to administer such oath.

50 The general registrar to give security by recognizance

51. All duplicate books of registry, and all abstracts of returns received under the orders in council, or to be received under this act in England, shall be deposited and kept in the general registry of colonial slaves in London

52 The general registrar shall carry on, continue, correct, and enlarge duplicate books, according to the triennial returns received by him.

53 General registrar, or his deputy, shall give attendance at his office, make searches, give certificates, &c.

54. From and after a time to be limited, it shall not be lawful for his Majesty's subjects within the united kingdom to purchase, or contract for, or to lend money on the security of slaves in the colonies, unless duly registered in the general registry of colonial slaves.

55 From and after a time to be limited, no deed or instrument, whereby any slave in the colonies are mortgaged,

sold, or conveyed, shall be valid in law, unless the registered names and descriptions of the slaves shall be set forth therein, or in some schedule annexed or indorsed.

56. Provided always, that no deed or instrument shall be avoided by reason of a clerical error in the names and descriptions of slaves therein, or in any schedule, or in the books of registry, from any error, without the fraudulent contrivance, or wilful default of the parties to such deed or instrument.

57. Provided also, that nothing herein shall avoid or impeach any will, &c. under the authority of any commissioners of bankrupt, or any public officer appointed to assign or convey any insolvent's estate and effects, or in the execution of any legal process, by reason that the registered names and descriptions of any slaves are not set forth.

58. That this act shall be deemed a public act.

No. LX.

ABSTRACT OF COLONIAL LAWS, RESPECTING SLAVES, ENACTED SINCE THE YEAR 1788.

ANTIGUA.

"*An Act to repeal the fortieth and forty-first clauses of an Act of this island, entitled 'An Act for attainting several slaves now run away from their master's service, and for the better government of slaves, dated the ninth day of December, in the year of our Lord 1723;' and to make persons charged with and found guilty of the murder of slaves, liable and subject to the same pains and penalties as are inflicted for the murder of free persons.*"—[*28th December*, 1797.]

The fortieth and forty-first clauses of the act of 1723, only imposed a fine, of from twenty to one hundred pounds currency, for the offence of gelding or dismembering a slave,

and of three hundred pounds for the murder of a slave. Those clauses are repealed by this act.

White or free person charged with murdering or maiming a slave, to be proceeded against as he would be for murdering or maiming free person; on conviction to suffer death or such punishment as the law of England inflicts for murdering or maiming a free person.

An Act for settling and regulating the Trial of criminal Slaves by Jury.—[28*th February*, 1798]

On complaint charging a slave with crime or felony, justice to issue warrant for apprehending the slave, and summon evidence for examination; and commit the slave if apparently guilty.

Magistrate first applied to, when a clergyman, to give notice in twenty-four hours from commitment, of result of examination to next justice.

Latter to certify, in ten days, cause of commitment to another justice; these two (one must be of the quorum) in ten days after, to try the offender.

Said two associated justices to issue warrant to marshal for summons of twelve white inhabitants, who are to receive

Said two associated justices, and six of inhabitants summoned, to be court and jury for trying the slave.

Jury to be balloted for as juries under No. 485, § 61, and to take an oath to give a true verdict.

White or free witnesses to take the oath to speak the truth.

If jury, from positive or strong presumptive proof, find slave guilty, justices on trial, or in five days after to pass sentence.

If sentence of death, justices to issue, in twenty-four hours, warrant to marshal to cause execution as appointed, not sooner than four days.

If sentence on slave found guilty cannot by law be death

justices to inflict corporeal punishment of their own authority.

Justices passing sentence of death, to apprize resident chief commander of such proceeding, in thirty-six hours after, under penalty of 20*l.*

Jury to assess damages sustained from offence of slaves; if owner refuse to pay, slave to be adjudged to party injured, and such recompense to be a bar to action.

Magistrate refusing to sit juror, to attend to hear and determine cases of slaves according to act, to forfeit each 20*l.* recoverable by action, half to informer, half to public use

Marshal to attend trial under penalty of 20*l*; to be allowed 3*s.* each for summoning jurors, and 33*s.* for his attendance.

Secretary, on notice from either justice, to attend, administer oaths, and minute proceedings in book, under penalty of 20*l*; and to be allowed 33*s.* for attendance.

Slaves in custody to be tried under this act.

An Act for establishing a Registry of Slaves in the Island of Antigua.—[*March* 18, 1817.]

An office of public registry to be established and kept in the town of St. John, for the registration of all descriptions of slaves, and a registrar to be appointed who shall reside in the island.

Every proprietor, or his representative, to give in a list, in five columns, entitled "An original Return of Slaves," containing the name of the person making the return, the right by which the slave is held, the name by which the slave is usually known, the sex, the colour, and the reputed age of each slave The whole according to an annexed form.

Such original return to be verified by affidavit, or by affirmation, if the person be a quaker.

The returns to be transcribed into a book, and carefully kept, by the registrar.

No erasure to be made in the book of registry; but if any

clerical error should be committed, the erroneous line to be struck through with red ink, the correction to be interlined and noted in the margin, (in the same hand as the error if possible) and the correction to be signed with the name of the registrar at length. But no correction, alteration, or interlineation, to be permitted after the original return shall have been completed and certified upon oath.

All persons to have, on paying fees, access to the registers between the hours of nine and three, and to receive office copies of each return.

When all the returns delivered to the registrar shall have been enrolled, the registrar shall give notice to the governor or commander-in-chief, who shall publicly notify to the inhabitants that the registry of slaves is ready to be verified, and that it will continue open, at the proper office, for thirty days, for the inspection of all persons who may be interested therein.

Persons, within the time prescribed in the said notification, on proving that the non-delivery of, or error or omission in their return, has arisen from accident or any other sufficient cause, are allowed to send in their return, and the registrar must enrol it, as if it had been delivered within the proper time.

At the expiration of the last term of thirty days, the registrar shall finally proceed to close and authenticate the registry, which shall thenceforth be entitled "The original Registry of Slaves in the Island of Antigua" This is to be done by subscribing his name and seal of office under the last entry in the book or set of books, with a subjoined affidavit of the correctness of the registry, sworn before the governor, who shall subjoin to it his certificate that it was duly sworn.

At the end of three years, and of every succeeding three years, fresh returns, entitled "A triennial Return of Slaves," shall be made by proprietors or their agents, which shall be divided into eight columns, containing the name of the per-

making the return, for whom made, the right of possession, the name, sex, colour, and age of each slave, the number of slaves in the preceding return, a detail of additions, and in what manner made, and the names of the slaves acquired since the preceding return; and also a particular detail of the deductions, if any, from the number of slaves, and how occasioned.

The triennial return to be verified by affidavit, or by affirmation, in the case of a quaker

The triennial returns to be registered and verified in the same manner as enacted for the original return.

At the final close of each registry, copies to be transmitted to the secretary of state for the colonial department.

Neglect or omission of delivering the schedule or return of slaves shall incur a penalty of two hundred pounds currency for each slave, so omitted to be returned; one half of the penalty to the king, and the other half to the person suing for it, and the offender shall likewise be liable to civil suits of all persons sustaining injury by the neglect, which persons shall recover full damages and treble costs: provided that no one shall be liable to penalty for any slave who may have absconded, or been out of their controul, if the name of such slave have been duly certified in the affidavit to be delivered with the return.

The governor or commander-in-chief shall be authorized to remit the penalty, when it shall appear that an omission has been made merely from negligence, or when the omission has occurred through the mistake of the registrar or his assistants.

Every slave not duly registered shall be forfeited to his Majesty, unless the person claiming title to him, shall prove that such slave has not been imported into the island, contrary to the laws in force for the abolition of the slave-trade; and the attorney or solicitor-general shall at the instance of any prosecutor, file an information against any person who omits to register a slave, and the prosecutor shall be entitled

to full costs, even though the slave may not be confiscated.

Any registrar refusing to receive a return shall be liable to the civil suit of the person injured, and for making or suffering fraudulent entries, erasures, or alterations, shall be liable to such penalties as the British law inflicts upon persons convicted of forging or fraudulently altering public records, and shall moreover be liable to action from any person injured, and shall make full reparation, with treble costs. The same of his assistant or clerks.

The period for making the triennial return shall be duly notified thirty days beforehand.

All penalties of which the mode of recovery is not specified, may be recovered, by action of debt, bill, plaint or information in the common pleas of the island: half the penalties to the king towards supporting the government of the island; half to the informer.

Certificates of registry to be received as evidence in all courts, reserving to the person against whom it is produced the right of impeaching or correcting it, by reference to the original books.

The registrar to receive a salary of 400*l.* currency, and a fee of threepence for every slave named in any certified copy of returns, of two and threepence for every search, and nine shillings for every ordinary certificate.

The penalty attached to wilful perjury, or subornation of perjury, to attach upon any person taking a false oath, or procuring others to take one, under this act

BAHAMAS.

An Act to prohibit the selling, purchasing, hiring or employing of certain Foreign Slaves, except as is therein excepted; for authorizing the provost marshal to sell, confine, and transport the same, and for other purposes therein mentioned —[23*d December*, 1795.]

French negroes not to be sold or employed, except such as may have already been brought into the Island of New Providence, Harbour Island, and Eleuthera, their dependencies and Watling's Island.

French negroes not to be employed in droging or coasting vessels.

French negroes found at large, to be apprehended, sent to gaol, and sold for transportation.

The prize-master of any vessel having French slaves, to report the same to the receiver-general; which slaves shall be sent to gaol, until sold for transportation.

Penalty of 100*l.* for neglecting or refusing to report French slaves.

Foreign slaves, condemned as lawful prize, to be sold for transportation, and may be secured by the provost marshal for that purpose.

In case of non-condemnation, the claimants of the slaves to transport them, in one month, and, if they neglect it for three months, it shall be done by the provost marshal, and they shall be fined one hundred and fifty pounds for every slave.

Persons possessed of French slaves since 1793 to report the same to the receiver-general.

French persons of colour brought into the islands since 1793, and found at large, to be arrested and committed to gaol, until they transport themselves.

Fines to be sued for in the name of the king.

Persons sued to plead the general issue, and if judgment given against plaintiff, the defendant to recover treble costs.

This act, originally passed for three years, was continued by subsequent acts, of 31st December, 1803, and 31st December, 1808.

An Act to consolidate and bring into one act, the several laws relating to slaves, and for giving them further protection and security; for altering the mode of trial of slaves charged with capital offences; for suspending the several acts and clauses of acts therein mentioned, and for other purposes.—[1796.]

Each slave above the age of ten years, to be allowed at the rate of one peck of unground Indian or Guinea corn, or twenty-one pints of wheat flour, or seven quarts of rice, fifty-six pounds of potatoes, cocoas or yams, per week, over and above a sufficient quantity of land; and half of this allowance to every child below the age of ten years.

Owners not allowed to discard any slave rendered incapable by labour, sickness, age, or infirmity, but to make due provision for them on their estates, under penalty of ten pounds. Slaves so discarded to be lodged in the nearest workhouse, and clothed and fed at the expense of the master. On refusal to pay the penalty and the workhouse fees, the master may be committed to the common gaol by the justices till they are paid.

Vestries authorized to levy a yearly rate, for the support, clothing, &c. &c. of such negroes as by manumission, death of proprietors, and otherwise, may have become burthensome to the inhabitants. Two justices may remove such objects of relief to the workhouse.

Two suits of proper and sufficient clothing to be given to each slave, in the course of a year, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Slaves to be instructed in the principles of the Christian

religion, and baptized as soon as they are made sensible of a Deity, and of the Christian faith.

No master, or other person, to mutilate a slave, under the penalty of a fine not exceeding a hundred pounds, and imprisonment not exceeding twelve months. Owner allowed his action also If committed by the owner, the court may emancipate the slave, and order the hundred pounds to be paid to the vestry of the parish, which vestry shall allow the slave ten pounds per annum, during life. On hearing of a case of mutilation, justices are required to send the slave to the workhouse, there to be kept at the expense of the parish till the facts are inquired into by the justices and vestry, who are constituted a council of protection for such slave. They are authorized to indict the owner.

Not thenceforth lawful for any court to pass sentence whereby a slave shall be mutilated, for any offence whatever

Persons killing a slave to be adjudged guilty of felony and murder, and to suffer death, without benefit of clergy

Persons guilty of cruelty to slaves to be indicted in the general court, and to suffer punishment by fine or imprisonment, or both

No slave to receive more than twenty lashes at any one time, for any one offence, unless the owner, supervisor of the workhouse, or keeper of the gaol, shall be present; not more than thirty-nine lashes at one time, for one offence, nor any second punishment on the same day, or till the delinquent be recovered from the effect of any former punishment, under penalty of ten pounds for each offense.

Provost marshal, or his deputy, or gaoler, may receive slaves into custody, and keep them till released by the owner, taking three shillings for his trouble, and a shilling a day for the maintenance of the slave, provided the provost marshal shall have maintained the slave.

Fixing iron collars on slaves, or loading them with more chains, when in confinement, than absolutely necessary, to

incur a penalty of fifty pounds; and justices of the peace, on information given to them, must order such collars or chains to be taken off, under penalty of one hundred pounds for every neglect or refusal.

Christmas day, and the two following working days, to be allowed as holidays.

No overseer to absent himself on those holidays without leave of his employer, under penalty of five pounds for each day.

List of births and deaths of slaves to be given in, every first of January, to the churchwardens of the parish, by the owner, manager or overseer, under penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered from the owner; and if the neglect in giving such list be with the overseer or manager, the owner may stop the penalty and costs out of the wages of the manager or overseer.

Excepting when going to market, no slave to go from the plantation they are employed on, without a ticket or pass, expressing the time of his or her setting out, where going, and when to return, under a penalty not exceeding forty shillings on the owner.

Slaves, under penalty of being whipped, are not to carry arms, unless in company with some white person, or by permission in writing.

Free people of colour, or white persons giving fraudulent passes to runaways, to be deemed guilty of forgery.

Tickets to slaves not to extend beyond one month.

Runaway slaves to be advertised within fourteen days of the time of their absconding; or the owner to be entitled to no satisfaction from the treasury, for any such slave executed or transported.

Unlawful to sell or buy a runaway slave. Penalty thirty pounds.

Slaves who after a residence of two years run away, to be punished, short of life or limb, at the discretion of any two justices.

Runaways for six months liable to be transported. Slaves concealing them shall suffer a discretionary punishment, short of life and limb, and whites doing so, shall be fined and imprisoned, and be subject to an action for damages.

Any slave apprehending a runaway shall receive a reward, not exceeding three pounds.

Every slave absent from his employer, without leave, for ten days together, and found, without a permit or pass, (except going to or returning from market) at the distance of eight miles from the plantation to which he belongs, shall be deemed a runaway

Free persons apprehending runaways, to receive a reward not exceeding twenty shillings, and mile-money at the rate of two shillings per mile for the first five miles, and one shilling per mile afterwards, even when the runaway shall not have been eight miles, and ten days, from home.

A slave killing another who is in actual rebellion shall receive five pounds, or ten pounds for taking the rebel alive, and a blue cloth coat with a red cross on the right shoulder.

Persons killing slaves in the execution of this act to give immediate information thereof under penalty of one hundred pounds.

Runaways apprehended, to be delivered to their owners and employers, who shall pay the reward, but if they are not resident, or refuse to pay the reward, then the runaway to be delivered to the nearest gaoler or workhouse-keeper, who shall pay the reward.

Runaways taken up are to be advertised once a month in the Bahama Gazette.

Slaves confined to be furnished with victuals by the keeper of the workhouse.

Slaves who shall have been in custody twelve months, without having been claimed, to be sold by public auction.

Slaves committed to gaol, or any workhouse, not to be hired out or otherwise employed.

Slaves escaping from confinement, on being apprehended are to receive not exceeding fifty lashes.

Twenty pounds to be forfeited by gaolers or other persons willingly or negligently suffering a slave to escape from confinement; and be subject also to the owner's action at law.

Slaves killed in the public service to be paid for.

Fifty pounds penalty upon any owner, overseer, &c suffering any strange slaves, more than twelve in number, to assemble together on his plantation, or any place under his management.

All officers authorized to disperse unlawful assemblies of slaves.

Slaves to be punished by whipping for having fire-arms or ammunition in their possession.

Slaves offering violence, by striking or otherwise, to any white person, to suffer death, transportation, or such punishment as the court may inflict, provided the offence was not committed by order of the owner, or of persons having authority over them, or in lawful defence of the owner or his goods.

Slaves giving poison, or preparing with intent to give, with all their accessaries before and after the fact, to suffer death, transportation, or such other punishment as the court may order.

Slaves found having fraudulently in their possession from five to twenty-eight pounds of fresh beef, mutton, or veal, or of the flesh of any horse, mare, mule, or ass, to be whipped, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and having more than twenty-eight pounds, to suffer such punishment, short of life or limb, as the justices shall direct.

Death, or punishment at the discretion of the court, for stealing or killing cattle, sheep, goats, horses, &c. &c.

Slaves conspiring to run away from the islands, or aiding in such conspiracy, to suffer transportation, or a discretionary punishment, short of life and limb.

Free people of colour aiding slaves to quit the islands, to be transported, and suffer death if they return.

White persons guilty of the same offence shall forfeit a hundred pounds, and be imprisoned not exceeding twelve months, subject also to the suit of the person injured.

Lawful to proceed against those who may have aided slaves in getting off, whether the principal be convicted or not under this act.

Slaves not to carry about dry goods for sale. Such goods may be seized by any white person, delivered to the provost, and sold for the benefit of the public treasures.

No slave to vend spirituous liquors. If done without the knowledge of his owner, the slave to be publicly whipped, if done with the knowledge, the owner to forfeit fifty pounds.

Slaves guilty of any kind of gaming to be publicly whipped; and tavern-keepers suffering slaves to game, to get drunk, or to tipple in their houses, or to stay therein after eight at night, or selling spirituous liquors to slaves when forbidden by the owners, to forfeit fifty pounds.

On any capital offence being committed, justice to issue his warrant for apprehending the offender, and order evidence to come before him, and on commitment of the offender, the witnesses to be bound over to attend the trial, in not less than ten nor more than thirty days. The justice then to certify the committal to another justice, and the two justices then to summon seven jurors, five of whom shall try the prisoner, on whom, if found guilty, sentence to be passed by the justices. Justices also empowered to hold slave-courts, upon the first Tuesday in January, April, July, and October, to be holden for five days successively, for the trial of all causes.

Justices may respite execution for any term not exceeding thirty days.

Not less than two justices and five jurors shall form a court, and upon such trial no peremptory challenge of any

juror, or any exception to the form of the indictment shall be allowed.

Execution to be performed by hanging, and with due solemnity, and where several slaves are capitally convicted for the same offence, only one, except in case of murder or rebellion, shall suffer death.

Slaves wilfully giving false evidence are to suffer the same punishment as the person accused would, if guilty, be liable to suffer.

Gaol fees for slaves who die in custody to be paid by the public.

Records of proceedings to be kept by the clerk of the peace, who is to receive three pounds for attending the trial, and entering up the record: twenty pounds penalty for non-attendance.

Constables to attend slave-courts, under a penalty of twenty pounds for neglect, and to receive forty shillings for attendance.

Jurors who neglect to attend, or depart without leave, to forfeit six pounds.

Not more than sixty pounds to be allowed by the public for any slave executed or transported.

Money arising from the sale of slaves sold for transportation, to be paid into the public treasury.

Slaves returning from transportation shall suffer death.

Persons concealing slaves against whom warrants shall be granted to forfeit 100*l.*

Manumitted negroes, mulattos, &c. to be tried in the same manner as slaves for all misdemeanors under felony, and the evidence of slaves shall be admitted.

Crimes under felony committed by slaves, may be tried in a summary manner by any two justices of the peace, who may inflict any punishment not exceeding fifty lashes.

When a workhouse is established, runaways taken up to be committed to it only.

Powers vested in justices and vestries to be executed by justices or vestries in islands where there are not both.

Fines not exceeding 20*l.* to be recovered in a summary manner, by distress; and if exceeding 20*l.* in the court of the islands—half to the parish, half to the informer.

This act, originally passed for two years, was continued by subsequent acts of 1802 and 1809.

An Act for the more effectually preventing the desertion of slaves, and for other purposes therein mentioned.—[1800.]

Names, ages, places of abode, and births of free negroes, &c. &c. to be registered in the police office, and a certificate to be given to the person so enrolled.

Book to be kept at the police office, to register names, &c. and certificates to be granted. Such book to be good evidence against any negro, &c. &c. not enrolled therein, in all questions where his or her freedom shall come in contest.

When there are more than five runaways in number, in New Providence, acting magistrate to send out a number of male free people of colour in search of them, and to relieve the persons sent, every seven days.

A list of free people of colour so employed, to be kept, and white persons to be appointed to command them.

Governor authorized to offer a reward for apprehending runaways.

Free persons of colour, opposed in the execution of this act, may wound and kill runaways, and in case of being sued, may plead this act.

Free persons of colour to wear silver medals of the size of a dollar, on which shall be engraved their initials, with the number of their certificate, and the word "Free." If found without the medal, may be committed to gaol till they provide themselves with it.

Free persons of colour not turning out when summoned, shall be imprisoned, not exceeding twenty days, and pay the legal fees.

List of runaways to be kept at the police office, and owners not returning the names of runaways shall be fined twenty pounds.

Persons sued for any thing done under this act may plead the general issue, and recover double costs.

Act passed for two years, and continued 1802, for ten years.

An Act for fixing the mode of trying questions relative to the Freedom of Negroes and other persons of colour, and for suspending certain acts therein mentioned.—[14*th January*, 1805.]

Acts contrary to this suspended during its continuance.

Claims to freedom to be tried only in the general court.

On any application, in behalf of a negro claiming freedom, to the general court, or in time of the vacation to any of the judges of it, or in out islands, to any two magistrates, or in certain cases, to any one magistrate, it shall be lawful for the said court, &c. &c. with the assistance and concurrence of three or more freeholders, to direct the person to state the grounds of the claim, and if they shall appear to be sufficient grounds, then to appoint a person to be the guardian of the said negro for the purpose of prosecuting a suit to try the claim, and the plaintiff shall be admitted to sue in *forma pauperis*.

If the claim be made in an out island and properly supported, the magistrates and three freeholders may oblige the person holding the claimant to resign all right to him, or to give sufficient security to send the claimant to Nassau, within six weeks, for the trial of the cause. Magistrates, &c. neglecting or refusing to take cognizance of such claim are to forfeit a hundred pounds, half to his Majesty, half to the informer

While the suit is pending, the claimant to be in safe custody in the gaol, or workhouse; but an order may be made for delivering the claimant into the custody of his or her guardian, and sufficient recognizance being taken for the appearance of such negro claimant, and the payment of such wages as the court may award, should judgment be given for the defendant.

In such action only the plantiff's title to freedom shall be tried; reserving to him the right, in case of his claim being allowed, of bringing an action against the defendant for wages.

Former decisions not to be overhauled.

Act passed for three years, and continued, 29th of February, 1808, for seven years.

An Act to prevent persons on Turks Islands from retailing Spirituous Liquors without being licensed, from trafficking with slaves, and for other purposes therein mentioned, and to suspend so much of an Act made in the forty-fifth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled "An Act to prevent persons on the Out Islands retailing Spirituous Liquors without being licensed, from trafficking with slaves, and for other purposes therein mentioned," as extends to Turks Islands aforesaid, [31*st December*, 1808.]

No persons on Turks Islands to retail spirituous liquors without license, obtained under the governor's hand and seal, on the certificate of five resident justices that the applicant is fit to be trusted; for which license, to be renewed yearly, ten pounds shall be paid.

No spirituous liquors to be retailed before six o'clock in the morning, nor after eight in the evening.

Persons having licenses to retail spirituous liquors shall have their names marked over their doors.

Keepers of dram-shops, &c. to be punished, by fine or imprisonment for purchasing salt from slaves.

Persons selling liquors in less than three gallons are to be deemed retailers.

Three or more justices of the peace to try offences under this act.—Act passed for two years.

An Act for regulating the hire of slaves, carts, waggons, and drays, and for other purposes therein mentioned.—[31*st December*, 1808.]

Acting magistrate shall register the names of slaves, and furnish badges, upon payment of one dollar each.

Badges shall not be worn by any other slaves than those for whom the same are obtained, and on the death of a slave the badge shall be returned, under penalty of five pounds.

No person shall let for hire any cart, waggon, or dray, without a license from the commissioners of the roads, under ten pounds penalty.

Licensed cart to have the name of the owner painted thereon, and be numbered and registered in the police office.

Owners of carts, &c. liable for any damage done thereby, or by the slaves having charge thereof.

Penalty of twenty shillings on drivers of carts riding thereon within the town and suburbs.

Rates of porterage, cartage, &c. to be fixed by the commissioners.

Fines under 20*l.* to be recovered before the police magistrates; above 20*l.* in the general court.

Act to continue in force ten years.

BARBADOES.

An Act to increase the sum made payable by former laws on the manumission of a slave, and for their better support when manumitted.—[12*th May*, 1801.]

Instead of 50*l.* as by the former acts, every person manumitting a slave, to pay 300*l.* for the manumission of a female

slave, and 200*l.* for a male, the female slave so manumitted shall, in consequence, receive from the parish, the sum of 18*l* per annum, and the male 12*l* per annum.

The provisions of the act, bearing date the 22d of January, 1783, are extended to this act

An Act for the better Protection of the Slaves of this island — [*9th April*, 1795]

Any person killing any slave without provocation, on conviction by the evidence of a white person, to suffer death without benefit of clergy.

No person so convicted to forfeit his lands, goods nor negroes or chattels.

An Act for the Punishment of such Slaves as shall be found practising Obeah — [*4th November*, 1806]

Any slave convicted of causing the death of a slave, by pretending to supernatural power, or by obeah, to suffer death

Any slave convicted of intending to give, or of administering any poison to a slave, in the practice of obeah, though death may not ensue, to suffer, with their accessaries, death transportation, or such other punishment as the court may direct

An Act to remove doubts concerning the Liability of a manumitted after the commission of felonies of which they stand accused — [*14th March*, 1809]

A slave accused of felony shall be tried as a slave, notwithstanding any manumission executed after the commission of the felony.

All manumissions of slaves accused of felony, executed between the commission thereof and trial of the slaves, shall be void.

An Act for more fully ascertaining the Slave Population of the Island of Barbadoes — [*9th January*, 1807]

The president or commander-in-chief to appoint a re

gistrar, who shall be personally resident on the island; and who shall never receive permission to be absent more than twelve months.

Every person to give in a list of slaves, with descriptive particulars, in a schedule of six columns, according to a prescribed pattern.

Triennial returns to be made, stating additions to, and deductions from, the number of slaves, and the causes, and such returns to be verified by oath or affirmation.

Due notice to be given, by the registrar, of the period within which the first list must be made.

Duplicates of the schedules to be preserved by the registrar, and to be accurately copied into a book or set of books, access to which, or extracts from, may be obtained on payment of a fee.

When all the schedules are entered in the book or books, the registrar shall announce that they are open for gratis inspection, during six months, that all persons interested may be satisfied of their accuracy.

Persons omitting to enter in lists shall forfeit one hundred pounds for every slave omitted, and if such slave be an African, or of African descent, shall be entitled to freedom, unless his owner shall within six months establish by evidence that such slaves had been legally imported, and such African so become free shall receive four pounds per annum from the treasury of the island during life.

Persons retaining as a slave any African illicitly imported shall forfeit not exceeding five hundred pounds, and be imprisoned in the common gaol, not exceeding two years.

Persons aggrieved by the proceedings of the registrar may appeal to the governor and council.

The registrar shall make correct duplicates of the books, and verify them by his affidavit, which books verified by the governor, shall be transmitted to the secretary of state for the colonial department.

No erasure to be admitted, but corrections to be made by

striking a line of red ink through the error, and adding the proper words in the margin, signed by the registrar.

Fraudulent alterations by the registrar, or any other person, to be punished by fine of not more than 500*l.* and imprisonment of not more than two years.

Fines to be paid to his Majesty, towards defraying the expenses of government.

Copy of the registration of any negro to be sufficient proof of his slavery.

Salary of the registrar to be two hundred pounds currency, and the further sum of six hundred pounds, when he shall produce to the commander-in-chief for the time being authenticated duplicates of the books of registry.

All fines of which the mode of recovery has not been certified, may be recovered on complaint to any justice of the peace, in the same way as servant's wages.

BERMUDA.

An Act to repeal an Act, intituled "An Act for the Security of the Subject, to prevent the forfeiture of life and estate upon killing a negro or other slave."—[17*th July*, 1789.]

An Act to regulate the Emancipation of Slaves, and to disable free negroes and persons of colour from being seised of real estate.—[9*th August*, 1806.]

No slave under forty years of age shall be emancipated, except upon condition that he leave these islands within three months.

Such emancipated slave, if found within these islands after the expiration of the said term, shall be committed to prison, and be transported by the public treasurer. If he prove his inability to obtain a conveyance, or give other sufficient cause, a further allowance of two months may be

given to him, but if again found, he shall be committed and transported.

If such slave shall return to these islands, he shall be taken up, transported, and sold in behalf of the public.

If the slave to be emancipated exceed forty years of age, the owner shall pay 50*l.* into the public treasury to remain as a fund to indemnify the public for any charge incurred on account of emancipated slaves.

Any negro or coloured person, pretending to be free, shall be liable to be called before any magistrate, and if the provisions of the act have not in his case been adhered to, he shall be committed to prison, advertised four successive weeks, and if no claimant appear, he shall be shipped off by the treasurer. Should a claimant appear, and make good his title, he shall receive the slave on paying expenses.

No free negro, or person of colour shall be capable of acquiring or being seised of any real estate whatever after the passing of this act. All such real estates shall be forfeited and sold, and the net proceeds granted to his Majesty towards defraying the expenses of government. This clause shall not extend to any real property legally acquired before the passing of this act.

The creditors of any free negroes, &c. shall not be prejudiced by any forfeiture to arise under this act.

No house, land, or tenement, shall be leased to any free negro for a longer term than seven years.

Act to continue in force for seven years after the royal assent is made known.

DOMINICA.

An Act to revive and make perpetual an Act of this island, intituled "An Act for the encouragement, protection, and better government of slaves"—[15*th March*, 179]

An Act to revive an Act of this island, intituled "An Act to establish a Company of Rangers, for the apprehending and suppressing of runaway slaves, and for obliging the proprietors, renters or employers of all slaves belonging to, or employed on, the several plantations or lands in this island, to furnish a proportion of the slaves to be sent into the woods after, and in search of, runaways, to provide officers for such company by engaging such proper white persons and people of colour as may be disposed to be employed on the said service, and for granting encouragement for the apprehending or destroying of any of the said runaways, and to empower magistrates, on the requisition of the commanding officer of the said company of rangers to issue their warrant to call to the assistance of the said company of rangers a certain number of slaves from the neighbouring plantations in cases of emergency, and to prevent the importation of slaves convicted or known to have been guilty of murder, insurrection, or other capital offences, and to prevent the sale of gunpowder, fire-arms, or other offensive weapons to runaways.' —[15*th March*, 1790]

An Act to enable the commanding officer of the corps of rangers employed in suppressing the runaway slaves, to procure such slaves for guides as he shall think best qualified to discover the camps or places of resort of the runaways in the woods" —[6*th December*, 1794.]

Authorizes the commanding officer to take any slave or slaves, for the service of which slave the proprietor shall receive three shillings *per diem*, and if the slave be killed, or

maimed, the proprietor shall receive his value according to estimate, out of the public treasury.

An Act for the more effectual apprehending of Runaway Slaves, and to oblige the provost marshal of this island to receive into his custody in the common gaol all runaway slaves, and to advertise them in the newspaper of the island, and if not claimed within a limited time, to oblige him to sell them for the public benefit, for appointing a committee of the council and assembly to inspect the common gaol from time to time, and for other purposes in this act mentioned.—[30*th April*, 1798.]

Any white or free person may, and is required, to apprehend any slave or slaves who may appear to him to be runaway, and conduct them to the common gaol, for which he shall receive sixteen shillings and sixpence, and a shilling per mile for travelling money. Such slave shall be advertised, and if not claimed shall be sold, but if claimed shall be restored, on payment of expenses.

White or free person is required to apprehend any slave found out of the plantation of his owner, or town where he resides (except slaves bringing water or necessaries for the owner, or attending some white or free person, and except tradesmen employed on any plantation and not belonging thereto) without the written permission of his owner or employer. Reward the same as above; and the owner to pay, and if he refuses, may be distrained on.

Provost marshal to receive slave so brought, pay the reward, advertise the slave thrice, and post up the name of the slave on the door of his office, under penalty of five pounds. Slave to be sold, if not claimed within three months. Produce of sale, deducting expenses of fees, to be paid to the owner on application, within a year, and if not then applied for, to be retained for the benefit of the colony.

Provost marshal to be allowed eighteenpence for the daily

keep of each runaway slave, seven and sixpence for each discharge, and sixteen and sixpence for advertising.

A committee consisting of two members of the council, appointed by the president, and three members of the assembly, named by the speaker, or a majority of the five, authorised to inspect the gaol, and inquire into the treatment of slaves, and allowance of food; and to fine the gaoler five pounds in default of having performed his duty on these heads.

An Act to make the testimony of slaves admissible in certain cases and under certain restrictions for a limited time, to forfeit runaway slaves who have been absent from their masters a certain time, and to oblige the inhabitants of this island having intelligence of the situation or motions of the runaway slaves, to communicate the same to the persons, and in the manner prescribed by this act, and to prevent persons from harbouring slaves on their plantations or in their houses, without a written permission from the owner or person having charge of such slaves, and for other purposes.

No white or free man of colour shall sell or barter any gunpowder, fire-arms, or other offensive weapon, salt, salt provisions, clothes, or other necessaries whatever, or hold intercourse with any runaway slave, knowing him to be such, under penalty of being deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and punished by fine, pillory, imprisonment and banishment, or any or either of them at the discretion of the court.

When any person is charged of any of the preceding crimes, it shall be lawful to support the charge by examining on oath, as witness, any slave or slaves, other than those of the party accused, provided that no white or free coloured man be convicted unless on the accordant and clear testimony of at least two slaves, examined out of hearing of each other; and no person shall be so convicted unless the prosecution be within twelve months after the commission of the offence.

All male slaves absent for twelve months previous to their commitment, shall be forfeited and banished at least twenty-five leagues, unless condemned to death by law. Such slave to be sold by the provost or his deputy, within three days, and the money, deducting charges, shall be paid to the owner.

Persons purchasing such slave shall enter into recognizances, in double the value of the slave, to banish him within seven days, and if such slave shall remain in the island after seven days, then the recognizances to be forfeited, and the amount paid into the public treasury.

Persons to give the earliest possible information which they may obtain of runaways; under penalty of 100*l.* if the offender be a white man, and not more than thirty-nine lashes if a slave.

Any slave harbouring or assisting a runaway slave shall be punished by not more than thirty-nine stripes on his bare breech; any white person shall forfeit twenty-five pounds for the first offence, fifty for the second, and for the third imprisonment for a month, and the pillory, and also be liable to action from the owner, who shall, in case of his obtaining a verdict, be allowed twelve shillings *per diem* for every day, and full costs. Testimony of slaves, not those of the accused, to be admitted. Any person employing a slave, who has not a written permission from his owner, shall forfeit twelve shillings per day, to be recovered with full costs.

Any proprietor having a warrant may enter, and on entry being refused, may break open, by day or night, any negro-house, to search for runaway slaves, and no owner, renter, &c. &c. shall hinder them under penalty of a fine, not under five nor exceeding ten pounds. Any person, however, making search, or aiding in it, without first giving notice when there is any white man on the plantation, or, under colour of such search, beating, abusing, wounding, or hurting any slave without just cause, shall be fined not less than five or more than ten pounds. Same penalty against any proprietor

refusing to search or cause to be searched his negro-houses, on application being made to him before warrant obtained, provided the owner of the runaway make oath that he had received information, and that there was probable cause to suspect that it might be true.

When a warrant is issued against any slave, the proprietor must deliver him up, under penalty of twenty pounds, unless he makes oath that the slave is a runaway, and cannot be found after diligent search.

An Act for the Trial and effectual Punishment of such Runaway Slaves as may hereafter be taken and be known to be chiefs or leaders of camps or bands of runaway Slaves in the woods. —[16*th October*, 1800.]

All runaway chiefs to suffer the pains and penalties which by the laws of England are usually inflicted on rebels and traitors.

An Act for the Banishing of sundry Runaway Slaves, now in confinement, and also for the banishment of such runaways of certain descriptions, as shall hereafter be taken or surrender themselves; and for other purposes.—[19*th Dec.* 1800.]

Provost marshal to sell by auction all runaway slaves in custody. The purchaser to send them off within forty-eight hours after their delivery to him; and, should the slave return, he shall be forfeited and sold for the benefit of the colony.

All slaves who have been runaways in camps in the woods, or runaways from their masters above six months, as well those in confinement as those who have been runaways and have returned to their owners within three months last past, but have not been examined or tried, or shall hereafter be taken, or shall surrender, shall be delivered to their respective masters or employers, on condition of their sending

them from the colony, under pain of forfeiture of the slave and twenty pounds currency. Not to extend to slaves under the age of twelve years.

Act authorizes the governor to send off a free negro named Pharcella, he having forfeited his freedom, by violating the terms on which he obtained it.

An Act to regulate the Manumitting of Slaves in this island, to impose a tax on manumissions, and to impose a tax upon all free and manumitted persons coming to this island.—[16*th June*, 1810.]

On manumitting slaves born in the island, or originally imported from Africa, or imported under ten years of age, the sum of sixteen pounds ten shillings shall be paid into the public treasury, and the treasurer shall sign a receipt for the same. On the manumission of all other slaves thirty-three pounds shall be paid.

No manumission shall be received by the registrar without the treasurer's receipt being produced; and to the manumission shall be annexed an affidavit stating whether the slave was born in the island, or from where and at what age imported.

No person of colour coming from any other island or colony shall be entitled to the privilege of free or manumitted persons, without recording his manumission, and paying a tax of thirty-three shillings into the public treasury. Provided that any person born free and coming to the island, shall bring a certificate from the place where he was born or last resided, purporting that he was born free, or shall produce two credible witnesses to the same purpose, or who shall swear that they have known him five years as a free man, then, on paying a tax of thirty-three shillings, he shall be entitled to the privilege of a free man.

No slaves manumitted by will shall be deemed free persons till they have been duly manumitted by the persons executing the will, and till the tax shall have been paid.

Repeals the "Act to impose a further tax on the manumission of slaves in this island, and for other purposes."

An Act for ascertaining the number of white persons, free persons of colour, and slaves, in this island.—[19th February, 1811.]

Town wardens for the town of Roseau, and way-wardens of parishes and districts appointed commissioners for the purposes of the act.

Commissioners, thirty days after publishing of the act, and second Tuesday of every January, to issue warrants to constables, under penalty of fifty pounds, to summon all the white inhabitants to give an account of their families and slaves.

Commissioners authorized to summon overseers, and all persons who can give information, and who must attend, under penalty of five pounds.

Fifty pounds penalty for neglecting or refusing to attend and give in lists, and the same on each repetition of the offence.

List to contain the names and descriptions of all slaves, runaways, free persons of colour, whites and proprietors. No return to be made in any other parish than that in which the slaves are usually employed.

Returns so to be made as not to evade the militia service. Each white or free man must specify on oath his place of residence.

All negroes and persons of colour, claiming to be free, must produce their manumissions; and the commissioners shall return to the treasurer the names of all negroes and people of colour whose manumissions have not been legally recorded, or who shall neglect to produce the manumissions to the commissioners.

Commissioners may levy the penalties of the act by warrant under their hand and seal, directed to the provost.

Commissioners shall annex to the returns a certificate that

they have actually sworn to the truth the white or free persons named; and the treasurer shall receive no returns without a certificate.

Commissioners subject to penalty of fifty pounds, if they neglect or refuse to make returns to the treasurer, or to levy penalties, within thirty days; and the same penalty for every thirty days' delay.

Parma-place plantation to be returned in the parish of St. Andrew, and not of St. David.

GRENADA.

An Act for obliging the owners of canoes, boats, and pettyaugers, to take out a license, and give security that the same shall not be the means of enabling slaves to make their escape, or to be carried off or transported from this colony; and for authorizing and enabling the commander-in-chief to hire two small vessels to cruize round the coast, for the purpose of inspecting and seizing all such vessels as may appear to be employed in carrying off slaves, or under suspicious circumstances of such intentions.—[*24th October*, 1789]

No person, after the 1st of November, to keep, under penalty of 100*l.* any canoe, boat, or pettyauger, without license from a magistrate under his hand and seal.

Justices directed to give such license without fee or reward, upon recognizance being entered into with two or more sureties in certain penalties from 120*l.* to 1000*l.* for vessels from 14 feet keel to 30 feet keel and upwards.

Condition to be void if such canoe, &c. be not the means of any slave escaping from the island; or on paying the owner of slaves carried off, 120*l.* each.

Owner of canoe, &c. within three days, to have his name, parish, and number painted on the stern or other conspicuous part.

All magistrates to inquire after, and examine such canoes, &c. and cause the owners to comply with this act.

In default on the part of such owners, the justice to seize such canoes, &c and deliver same to harbour-master of St. George's, who is to take charge of same until owners conform with this act, or until the expiration thereof, when he is to deliver them to such owners on payment of reasonable charges, and sixteen and sixpence each canoe.

Justices sending canoes to St. George's to grant warrants on the treasurer for necessary expenses.

Commander-in-chief empowered to hire two vessels not exceeding sixty tons burthen, and for a period not exceeding three months, and to arm, man, and fit the same to cruize round the coast of this colony; to inspect and seize such vessels as appear to be employed in taking off slaves, or under suspicious circumstances described in act for the better regulation of foreign vessels.

To issue his warrant on treasurer for payment of the hire of such vessels.

An Act for the more effectual Trial and Punishment of criminal Slaves, and to authorize his Majesty's justices of the peace to appoint constables in cases of emergency.—[*24th October*, 1789.]

On complaint being made to any magistrate of any heinous crime committed by a slave, justice to issue his warrant for apprehending the offender, and to summon all persons that can give evidence. And if, on examination, probability of guilt appears, to commit offender to prison; within ten days to associate with him one or more justice, and so associated to issue their warrants to a constable to summon three freeholders to join said justices at such time and place as they shall appoint, not exceeding four days. These free persons, having taken an oath to try fairly, constitute a court, with full power to try the offender, to call evidence before them, to admit the evidence of one slave against another, and forth-

with cause immediate execution in capital cases, to be done by the marshal, and in other cases by the clerk of the marshal.

Jurors summoned, and not attending, to forfeit 50*l.*

Any slave who shall personally insult, abuse, or threaten any white or free coloured person, or conceal any slave, knowing the same to be runaway, or found gaming, beating drums, &c. at improper hours, or fighting, or shall be guilty of any crime deemed larceny by the laws of England, such slave shall be punished at the justice's discretion, such punishment not to extend to life or limb.

Any two justices, in cases of emergency, to appoint constables.

Persons refusing to serve, liable to punishment, as if appointed at the sessions.

Act passed for two years, and in 1791 for two years further, and till some other provision should be enacted.

An Act to amend an Act, intituled "An Act to prevent the further sudden increase of free negroes and mulattos;" and also to amend an act, intituled "An Act for the better Government of Slaves, and for the more speedy and effectual suppression of runaway slaves;" and to ascertain what shall be evidence of the sealing of certificates respecting enfranchisement, as directed to be made by the guardians of slaves. —[*2nd April*, 1792.]

Acts of freedom by deed, last will, or otherwise, may be recorded at any time.

Originals of such acts, or certified copies, may be pleaded and given in evidence in all courts of law and equity, provided that any intermediate *bona fide* purchaser or incumbrancer, not to be thereby affected without notice.

Negroes and mulattos claiming to be free by birth, to prove such claim by the affidavit of two credible freeholders, before two justices of the peace.

Justices to grant certificate of such claim and proof.

Where there is neither manumission nor proof of freedom by birth, a claim of freedom by repute may be proved, certified, and given in evidence in like manner, if the party has been so reputed free for five years,—such *prima facie* proof not conclusive if opposed by contrary evidence;—but the party claiming to be free not to be debarred from adducing further proof of his, her, or their freedom.

Persons falsely swearing under this act, or procuring others to do so, guilty of perjury or subornation of perjury, punishable by the laws of England.

The 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th clauses of the act of April 23, 1767, repealed

Certificates obtained subsequent to the said recited act, and not recorded within the time limited thereby, and certificates obtained after the time prescribed by the said act, and before the publication of this act, declared to be valid and effectual.—Such certificates not conclusive, but may be opposed by further evidence.—Party producing such certificates not to be debarred from producing other proof of his or her freedom.

Originals of all manumissions duly proved, or office-copies thereof, duly certified according to law, declared to be good evidence at law or in equity.

Where certificates of guardians, under the act of February, 1791, (expired) have not been valid and signed in presence of witnesses proof of the signatures of such guardians made *prima facie* evidence of such sealing.

Marshal not to sell runaway slaves without giving public notice in the Island Gazette. And if no gazette, by a written advertisement, to be affixed for six successive weeks to the door of the church, court-house, and marshal's office.

Marshal answerable in an action of damages to the party aggrieved if he neglect to advertise slaves; if not claimed within six weeks, to be then sold by public outcry.

Proceeds, after deducting all charges, to be paid by the marshal to the owner of such slave, or if the owner is not

known, to the public treasurer, for such owner, when he shall appear.

Such sales not conclusive against owners not resident at the time in the country.

Such owner, upon payment or tender of all monies actually paid, and expenses incurred, may claim restitution of such slave within twelve months after such sale, and maintain the same by action of ejectment, trover, or detinue, against the purchaser or possessor.

Clause twenty-first of the act of the 21st of April, 1767, is repealed.—This act a public act.

An Act for the more effectual Trial and Punishment of Slaves, who may have been, or may hereafter be, concerned in the rebellion and insurrection now existing in this island.—[*7th June*, 1796.]

Slaves suspected of being concerned in the insurrection and rebellion to be tried by a court hereinafter mentioned, and punished as hereinafter directed.

Slaves when taken or surrendered to be first examined by a justice of peace, who is to return the examinations to the commander-in-chief within twenty-four hours. Justice to commit offender to prison if he sees probable ground of suspicion, there to be detained for trial. Commander-in-chief to issue his warrant to three or more justices to proceed to try the offender. Justices within twenty-four hours after receiving such warrant to issue a precept to some constable to summon five white persons as jurors, and to fix a time for trial, and to cause at such trial witnesses to come forward. Notices to witnesses who are slaves to be served on their owner. Punishment of death, banishment, or hard labour in chains, on prisoner pleading guilty. If prisoner pleads not guilty, justices to choose three of the five jurors to try cause, who are to be sworn to try truly. Justices sentence to be final, and to be executed at any time they shall appoint after thirty-six hours. Commander-in-chief may respite or

pardon any criminal. Evidence of slaves to be good for and against each other. Justices may adjourn the trial for forty-eight hours in case of absence of material witness. If witness does not then appear trial to go on. Justices to make regular minutes, and return them into the secretary's office in six days. Punishment of death to be inflicted publicly, and prisoner not to be intoxicated when executed. No other mode of execution but hanging allowed. When criminals sentenced to imprisonment, or hard labour for life, they are to be be employed under overseers and a proper guard, in clearing the woods in the interior, and making roads. Constables to attend the trial and execution.

Court may adjourn as often as they please for forty-eight hours.

Slaves giving false evidence liable to the same punishment as the offender, if he had been found guilty. Justices to explain to slave witnesses the punishment for false testimony. Owner refusing to produce slaves summoned as witnesses, to forfeit 50*l*.

Justice refusing to act to forfeit 50*l* to be recovered by attaching the body. Constable refusing to do his duty liable to a fine of 25*l* to be recovered in the same manner.

Jurors and free witnesses refusing to serve or attend, liable to a fine of 25*l* and three months imprisonment.

Slaves sentenced to death, confinement, or banishment, to be valued by the justices and jurors. Such valuation not to exceed 100*l*. currency. To be paid by the treasurer from the public treasury to the owner of the slave. Slaves so valued to be the property of the public. Any owner suspecting any slave of any crime specified in this act, and not carrying him before a justice, liable to be imprisoned for one year.

All fines levied under this act to be a fund in the treasurer's hands for the purposes thereof.

Reasonable expenses incurred to be paid by the treasurer by warrant from the justices.

Commander-in-chief to have the direction of all slave /

sentenced under this act, and all monies not otherwise ordered to be paid by this act for the purposes thereof, to be payable by warrant from the commander-in-chief.

An Act for the Punishment of Slaves under sentence of banishment or confinement to hard labour in chains, who shall escape, or attempt to escape, from their places of confinement or employment, and to make it lawful for the magistrates to condemn to hard labour, in chains for life, or for a limited time, slaves convicted under the several acts for the trial and punishments of criminal slaves.—[13th May, 1797.]

Slaves sentenced to banishment from this island, or to be confined to hard labour in chains for life, or shorter period, and who shall escape, break loose, or run away from place of confinement, or be absent forty eight hours from custody of person having charge, to suffer death or other punishment according to discretion of magistrate.

Slaves charged with crime of escaping from place of confinement, to be tried according to act for punishing negroes guilty of high treason. Record of former conviction of such slave, and of sentence passed on him, together with evidence of any one free person or slave, of his having escaped from place of confinement, or absence for forty-eight hours or more from custody, declared to be sufficient proof of conviction.

Slaves returning from transportation under this act, to suffer death.

Justices of the peace before whom any slave shall be tried for any offence, and who shall be convicted thereof, the punishment for which would be, agreeably to said acts now in force, corporal punishment or imprisonment for life, to condemn such slave or slaves, in lieu thereof, to be worked in chains for any limited time, or life; or when for life, to be appraised, paid for, and become the property of the public.

And when slaves who are sentenced to work in chains for

life, or for a limited time, shall commit the offences created in the first clause, they shall be tried in like manner.

Information being given to any justice, of any slaves having escaped, or run away from place of confinement, or from keeper, magistrate to issue his warrant to constables to apprehend persons concealing them, and on conviction, if free, to be committed to gaol for any time under thirty days without bail; and if slaves, to be worked in chains not exceeding thirty days.

Free persons giving the above information of concealment, to get six pounds twelve shillings, if slave, to get three pounds six shillings.

This act declared to be a public act.

An Act for the better protection and for promoting the natural increase and population of Slaves within the Island of Grenada, and such of the Grenadines as are annexed to the government thereof, for compelling an adequate provision for and care of them, as well in sickness and old age as in health; and for constituting and appointing guardians to effectuate and carry into execution the regulations and purposes of this act.—[*9th Dec.* 1797.]

Every proprietor, owner, or possessor of any plantation or estate, shall provide for, and allow to, at least every head of a family of slaves, thereunto attached, one good and comfortable house, with one or more cabanes or beds to sleep upon, raised at least one foot from the ground; and shall also allot and appoint for every slave (domestics excepted) above the age of fourteen years, as, and for his or her proper ground, such a quantity or portion of the land of the said plantation or estate, to which such slave may be attached, or of such other contiguous lands as shall be approved by the guardians of slaves appointed in manner hereinafter mentioned, as sufficiently near and convenient for such provision ground, as in the estimation of the guardians for that parish wherein such plantation or estate shall be situate, or the ma-

jority of them, shall be deemed sufficient, when under proper cultivation, to produce such a quantity of ground provisions, as, with the ordinary allowance of salt provisions, of the quantity whereof such guardians are to judge, will be completely adequate to the maintenance and support of such slave; and shall allow every such slave, from noon, in some one day in every week, or one whole day in a fortnight, besides Sunday (except in time of crop), for the purpose of working and cultivating his or her grounds; which said grounds, when once allotted, shall not be exchanged or taken away from any such slave, without his or her consent, by him or her expressed to the guardians of such district or parish, whilst such slave shall remain on the estate to which such land so allotted to him or her belongs (except in manner and upon the terms next hereinafter mentioned); that is to say, provided always, that if the person having the charge of any plantation or estate shall find it necessary or expedient to change the provision grounds allotted to the slaves of such plantation or estate; and such consent of the slaves shall not be expressed as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful for any such person to allot other sufficient grounds for that purpose, and to call on the guardians of the district or parish to examine and approve of the quantity, quality, and situation of such proposed new provision grounds; and if the said guardians, or a majority of them, shall approve of such new provision grounds, then and in every such case, from and after the expiration of twelve calendar months after such new allotment and approbation as aforesaid, or such longer period, according to the season of the year, as the guardians shall judge necessary to enable the slaves to put such newly allotted grounds into proper cultivation, but not sooner or otherwise, it shall and may be lawful for any such person to take in, and put into cultivation, the grounds so first allotted for the use of the slaves.

Owners of estates, from the situation or nature of the soil not affording sufficient provision grounds, to have it in their

option to make allotments of ground, or to give a weekly allowance of provisions in lieu thereof, with the approbation of the guardians

Annual allowance of decent and sufficient clothing, to be approved by the guardians, under penalty of five pounds for each slave not clothed.

Slave not attached to, or resident on estates, to be provided by the proprietors with comfortable lodging, ample and wholesome food, and decent clothing.

Proprietors of slaves, or attorneys of such proprietors, or their absence, the manager, overseer, &c. restrained from inflicting on any slave any corporal punishment, other than confinement, and whipping not to exceed thirty-nine lashes at one time, and for any one offence. Proprietors or attorneys being resident, the manager, overseer, &c. not to inflict any corporal punishment, other than confinement, or whipping not to exceed twelve lashes at one time, or for one offence. Twenty pounds penalty for inflicting a greater number of lashes on the same day, or before the delinquent is recovered from the effect of any former punishment. Proviso,—when the fault committed is of such enormity as to deserve a more exemplary punishment, the delinquent is to be punished at the discretion of two justices of the peace. No further punishment to be inflicted for that offence under penalty of twenty pounds.

Proprietor, attorney, manager, &c. inflicting a greater or other punishment than before described, to be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both; and proprietors committing any atrocious acts of inhumanity and maihem on slaves, the guardians empowered to dispose of such slaves. Money arising from such sale to be paid to the proprietor.

Slaves not to be compelled to work before day break, or after sun-set, except in making sugar, or carrying grass or stock-meat, under penalty of ten pounds.

Owners, &c. of slaves not to discard them on account of age or disorder, but to provide them with every necessary,

and not suffer them to wander about. Lawful for white or free coloured person to take up such slaves found wandering at large, and carry them before a magistrate or guardian. Penalty of ten pounds if owner, &c. from neglect or maltreatment, are found offending. Owners to enter into recognizance that such slave shall in future be well treated. On refusal or neglect, the justice or guardian to commit such slave to the charge of the cage-keeper, and owners, &c. to pay four shillings and sixpence *per diem* for feeding and lodging such slave, to be recovered weekly on the goods and chattels.

Owners, &c. to endeavour the instruction of their slaves in the Christian religion, and to cause them to be baptized. Clergyman to perform the same, and other duties, gratis.

Hospitals upon every plantation to be erected in a healthy situation. Managers to keep hospital books with the names of the sick, the time of their admission, dismission, or death.

Account of the births and deaths to be annually given in, upon oath, to the commissioners appointed for taking the taxable objects, under penalty of twenty pounds.

Surgeon or medical attendant to certify the causes of the deaths of such slaves.

Female slaves having six children living, exempt from hard labour, and the owner exempt from taxes for such female slave.

And in order to prevent any person from mutilating or dismembering any slave or slaves, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any master, mistress, owner, possessor, or other person whatsoever, shall, at his, her, or their own will and pleasure, or his, her, or their direction, or with his, her, or their knowledge, sufferance, privity or consent, mutilate or dismember, or cause to be mutilated or dismembered, any slave or slaves, he, she, or they shall be liable to be prosecuted by information or indictment, for every such offence, in the court of King's Bench and grand sessions, or any other court of similar jurisdiction in these

islands; and upon conviction, shall be punished by fine, not less than one hundred, nor exceeding five hundred pounds, and imprisonment not exceeding twelve months, for each and every slave so mutilated or dismembered; and such punishment is declared to be without prejudice to any action that can or may be brought at common law for recovery of damages for or on account of the same; and in very atrocious cases, where the owner of such slave or slaves shall be convicted of such offence, the justices of the court before whom such offender shall have been tried and convicted, are hereby empowered, in case they shall think it necessary for the further protection of such slave or slaves, to declare and adjudge him, her, or them free, and discharged of and from all manner of servitude to such owners, to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and in all such cases, the justices of such court are hereby authorized and empowered, if to them it shall appear necessary, to order and direct the fine adjudged by them to be paid into the hands of the treasurer of these islands to the use of the public; the treasurer for the time being, in consideration thereof, paying to such of the said slaves so freed and discharged from servitude as aforesaid, the sum of ten pounds per annum towards his, her, or their maintenance and support during life; and in case of any such mutilation or dismembering of any slave or slaves being committed as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said guardians, or any one or more of them, upon complaint and application to him or them made by such slave or slaves so mutilated, and they are hereby required, upon view and certainty of the fact, to send such slave or slaves so mutilated forthwith to the nearest cage where such offence shall have been committed; and if such complaint and information that any slave or slaves is or are so mutilated shall arise from the probable intelligence of any other slave, or otherwise, to issue their or his warrant to any constable, ordering him immediately to proceed to the place where such slave or slaves so mutilated may be, and bring him, her, or them, and

if under confinement, to release and bring him, her, or them before such guardian or guardians, who on view and certainty of the fact as aforesaid, shall send such slave or slaves so mutilated, to the nearest cage as aforesaid; which slave or slaves shall be there safely kept by the cage-keeper, but not worked, at the public expense, until the determination of the prosecution, which the said guardians are hereby directed and required to pursue and carry into effect against the perpetrators of the said mutilations, in manner aforesaid; and the keeper of such cage is hereby required to receive such slave or slaves into his custody, and during such time as such slave or slaves shall be detained in the cage, to provide and allow a sufficient quantity of proper food daily for his, her, or their sustenance and support, at the expense of the person offending as aforesaid, and under the direction and approbation of the said guardians, who are hereby authorized to issue their warrant for payment of the same, to be levied on the goods and chattels of the offender.

Assembly to appoint guardians on the first meeting thereof, every year.

Guardians to take the following oath:—

"I, *A. B.* do swear, that I will diligently, truly, faithfully, and impartially perform the office of Guardian of Slaves, in the parish of [*or*, the town of Saint George] for which I am appointed this present year, and will not, for favour and affection, or any other consideration whatsoever, excuse any person or persons offending against, or neglecting his, her, or their duty, as enjoined by an act, intituled, 'An Act for the better protection, and for promoting the natural increase and population of Slaves within the Island of Grenada, and such of the Grenadines as are annexed to the government thereof; for compelling an adequate provision for and care of them, as well in sickness and old age as in health; and for constituting and appointing guardians to effectuate and carry into execution the regulations

and purposes of this act, nor will I, for hatred, malice, ill-will or partiality, prosecute, present or punish any one, but in all things will comply with, and conform to, the [illegible] orders, and duty enjoined me by the said [illegible] according to the best of my understanding, skill, power, and judgment.—So help me God."

Penalty fifty pounds on guardian refusing to act, or to make oath. Guardians having served one year, not compellable to serve again until the expiration of two years.

Guardians required once in every six months to visit the estates and every plantation, to hear and inquire into the complaints, and to inspect the grounds, &c. of the slaves. And to examine book &c. respecting any suspicious circumstance relating to their treatment, &c. Manager to take an oath to give true answers, and be fined fifty pounds on refusing to be sworn, and to be prosecuted for perjury on false swearing.

Persons manumitting slaves to pay one hundred pounds into the public treasury; the treasurer is directed and required to certify on the back of the manumission, that such sum has been to him paid, and no manumission executed after the publication of this act, without such certificate, shall be of any force or validity whatsoever.

Each person manumitted, to receive ten pounds annually during life; to be paid every six months.

Any manumitted person being absent, may receive his annuity, on producing a proper certificate from his place of residence.

Persons manumitted, being convicted of any heinous offence or disorderly conduct, shall forfeit the annuity, or part, in proportion to the heinousness of the offence.

Persons whose usual residence has been in this government, and obtaining a manumission in any other place, deemed void, until the sum of one hundred pounds be paid by every such person into the treasury.

Penalties and forfeitures are to be recovered in the court of common pleas.

Guardians being sued or molested, to plead the general issue.

Act to remain in force for two years, and till further provision made.

An Act to repeal so much of an Act, commonly called "The Guardian Act," as gives an annuity of ten pounds to every slave manumitted, according to the direction of that act and for certain other purposes—[20th October, 1800.]

The 20th, 21st, and part of 23d clauses of the before recited act giving an annuity of 10*l* to be repealed, but this act not to extend to the annuities of those who have already paid the 100*l*

Every owner manumitting his slave to pay the treasurer of the island 100*l* And no manumission will be admitted until a certificate of the money paid, is entered on the manumission, and recorded in the register's office.

No other evidence of freedom will be received unless by such certified manumission; or a copy thereof from the register's office if the original is lost—This to be deemed a public act.

JAMAICA.

An Act to repeal "An Act for the better Order and Government of the Negroes belonging to the several negro towns, and for preventing them from purchasing of slaves, and for encouraging the said negroes to go in pursuit of runaway slaves, and for other purposes therein mentioned," and for giving the Maroon negroes further protection and security, or altering the mode of trial, and for other purposes—[9th December, 1791.]

Former act on this subject repealed

If Maroons are disobedient, excite or join in tumults, de-

part without leave, or stay out longer than permitted, they are to be tried and punished by superintendent and negro officers.

Governor to grant a general commission to superintendents to hold courts. They are to report proceedings to him.

If superintendents or negro officers are neglectful or partial, they are to be tried by a court martial.

On complaint of robberies, &c. by Maroons, justices to issue warrants. Slaves to be evidence against them. They are to be tried where parochial business is usually transacted. Justice to call in two other justices, (who must attend or forfeit twenty pounds each) and they are to summon a jury ten days between complaint and trial. Jury to consist of twelve white men, and be sworn. If Maroon found guilty, justices may give sentence of death, transportation, &c. Unless for rebellion, governor to confirm sentence of death or transportation, previous to execution.

Challenges must not be made, nor form objected to Executions to be performed publicly, and by hanging only Only one to suffer for the same offence.

Maroons not to be worked with slaves.

Court to inflict punishment for false evidence.

Records to be kept by clerk of peace who must attend trials, record proceedings in five days, and deliver a copy, under penalty of twenty pounds. He is to be paid five pounds. Deputy marshal to attend at trials and executions, under penalty of twenty pounds, and be paid five pounds. When it is deemed necessary, Maroons may be tried in county towns. Security to be given for their appearance there in a month. If security not given, justice may commit offenders and witnesses. Expenses of trials to be paid by the public.

Superintendent, &c. not to permit any large assembly of slaves in the day, nor any meetings in the night, under pain of being broke. Complaint to be made in ten days

Maroons inveigling or harbouring slaves, to be transported.

If they quit their towns without leave, or stay out seven days beyond their time, the marshal of the precinct, under penalty of twenty pounds, to send them home for trial.

Slaves purchased by them to be forfeited. Persons selling slaves to them, or buying any in trust for them, to forfeit one hundred pounds.

Superintendents on sending out parties are to give orders to the commanding officer of such party, specifying at whose request such party is ordered out, the names of the officers and men composing such party, and the time when such party is to return; and that, on the return of such party, the superintendent in the town from whence such party was sent out, shall and he is hereby obliged to make oath, on the back of such order or orders, that the service on which such party or parties were sent out, was duly performed, or as the circumstances of the case may happen to be; which oath any magistrate is hereby authorized and empowered to administer: provided always, that no superintendent shall order any party to remain out at any time exceeding twenty days.

Maroons to have forty shillings and mile money for every runaway they take while on parties; and twenty shillings for those taken when not on parties. If payment refused, magistrate, under penalty of twenty pounds to issue a distress warrant. No Maroon shall be entitled to receive more money than one shilling per mile for the first five miles, and sixpence for every mile exceeding that, either to the next workhouse, or to the proprietor's house next adjoining the spot where he took up the negro or other slave.

White people not to employ Maroons without written agreement, under penalty of twenty pounds.

Debts owing to or from Maroons, to be settled as directed by 9 Geo. II. cap. 9.

If white or free persons assault Maroons, they may be prosecuted, and punished by fine or imprisonment, or both.

Superintendent to make quarterly returns; and not be absent from his town above a fortnight without leave. If he fails in those respects, he may be broke.

Maroons to repair roads, being paid, not exceeding fifty pounds per annum for each town.

Maroon parties to be paid by the receiver-general for the time being, to the officer among the negroes in each party in the rank of a captain, two shillings and sixpence per day; for lieutenant, one shilling and threepence per day; and every common man, one ryal per day when on actual duty, and no longer, and have provisions and ammunition; not more than twelve men to be in each party.

When Maroons wish to live out of the negro towns, they are to resign their lands at quarter sessions.

Magistrates to have their declaration recorded, and, under penalty of twenty pounds, give them a copy of it.

They are then to be no longer subject to the superintendent, but enjoy the privileges of free people. Men must enlist in the militia.

This act to be explained to Maroons, quarterly.

Persons of jurors, &c. protected.

Maroons sentenced to be transported, are to be sold by receiver-general If they return, they suffer death

Penalties under twenty pounds to be recovered in a summary manner by distress and sale, and above that in the courts. One half to the king, half to the informer.

This act not to abridge the governor's power; but he cannot send any persons off the island against their will.

An Act to repeal an act, intituled, "An Act to regulate the Sales of newly imported Negroes, and to prevent, as far as possible, the separation of different branches of the same family;" and to regulate the sales of newly imported negroes; and to prevent as far as possible, the separation of different branches of the same family.— [*10th May*, 1792]

New negroes not to be sold on board vessels, but a proper place to be procured on shore for the sale, under penalty of five hundred pounds.

Factor to swear that he has classed relations together.

Penalties to be recovered in the supreme court. Half to the king; half to the informer.

An Act to repeal certain acts and clauses and parts of acts therein mentioned, to prevent the stealing, concealing, inveigling, detaining knowingly harbouring or employing the slaves of others, to prevent the transportation of slaves by mortgagers and tenants for life and years, and otherwise regulating abuses committed by slaves.—[11th Dec. 17]

Although the act 29 Geo. III sec. 3. be expired, the provisions in clause 1, are to remain in force.

Stealing off the island, marking or defacing marks of other persons' slaves, made felony without benefit of clergy, as well as stealing slaves with intent to send them off, but is not to work corruption of blood.

Persons who conceal, inveigle, &c. the slaves of others, to forfeit one hundred pounds and be imprisoned, but not if they got possession of them in a regular manner.

Persons who under pretence of title, detain slaves, whom others have had for six months, to forfeit one hundred pounds.

Persons detaining leased slaves beyond the time, to suffer as inveiglers; unless at expiration of the term, the slaves are run away. Oath of lessee to be admitted.

Chief justice, &c. on complaint, to issue warrants to apprehend offenders, and commit them to prison, or admit them to bail till trial, which must be in ten days.

Jury to be summoned to meet where parochial business is transacted, for trial of offenders within that time, from which jury no person is to be exempt.

Inveigled slaves also to be apprehended, that they may be produced at the trial.

Witnesses refusing or neglecting to attend, to be fined, and fine distrained for; and in want of distress, their persons imprisoned.

Provost marshal to produce such persons in his custody as may be deemed material for examination.

Warrants to be returned under penalty of fifty pounds.

Magistrates may on good cause, adjourn from time to time not exceeding ten days at each adjournment.

Chief justice, &c. authorized to carry this act into execution. Complaint being made to one justice, he, under penalty of fifty pounds, must call in an associate, who, under like penalty, must assist. Complaint to be made in a limited time.

Magistrates empowered to fine jurors not attending.

Clerk of the peace to attend the trial and draw up the charge, and to record in his office affidavits, &c. but not examinations.

Magistrate to inquire into the charge by the oaths of twelve freeholders.

Owners of inveigled slaves allowed as good evidences, although they prosecute.

Jurors not to depart till they return their inquest.

Inquest being returned, magistrates to pronounce sentence, and order delivery of the slaves. Inquest to bar other charges.

Proceedings not to be removed till after judgment, nor be set aside for want of form.

Clerk of the peace to have one pound each day for attending, and five pounds for recording the proceedings; and on neglect of duty is to forfeit one hundred pounds.

Expenses awarded to be paid to the defendant, in case of acquittal, or prosecutor committed.

Fines imposed by this act, to be levied by distress and sale, and if no goods, offender to be imprisoned till payment. Fines to be paid into the hands of the receiver-general. Fines on justices, to be recovered by bill, plaint or information in the supreme court.

Prosecutor if not examined as a witness, to have half the penalties; if he is, the whole to the government.

Clerk of the peace to draw the jury by ballot.

Martial law not to interrupt proceedings

All parties attending these trials, protected in their persons.

Persons maliciously prosecuted, to have redress in the supreme court

Replevins being brought against marshals for slaves, to be advertised four weeks previous to trials.

Mortgaged slaves, &c. not to be sent off the island without order of law, under the penalty of one hundred pounds.

Persons letting houses to slaves, suffering them to build any, permitting them to work without a license, or go where they please, to forfeit twenty pounds, to be recovered by summary process. Half to the king, half to the informer

Justices to order houses, &c. of slaves to be pulled down, under the penalty of fifty pounds for neglect or refusal.

Penalty of one hundred pounds on the provost-marshal, if any person committed under this act escape from prison

An Act to make provision for the families of such free people of colour, and of free negroes enrolled in the militia, as shall be killed or disabled in the public service.—[22d December, 1795.]

If persons herein mentioned be killed, their families are to have annuities at discretion of justices and vestry, which are to be paid by receiver-general on his having certificates.—No annuity to exceed fifty pounds.—If mothers die, children to have annuities till sixteen years of age; such persons, if disabled, are to have annuities, not exceeding seventy pounds, while they remain in the island, and are incapable of militia duty.

An Act to amend an act passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, intituled, "An Act to ascertain and establish the boundaries of Trelawney Town, and to settle and allot one thousand acres of land for Accompong Town,

and to ascertain the boundaries thereof;" and to appoint certain commissioners to sell the lands granted to the Trelawney Maroons, with a reservation of so much thereof as may be necessary for the use of the troops that may be quartered there —[1*st May*, 1796]

31 Geo II. cap. 9. The negroes of Trelawney town having revolted, are declared to have forfeited their claim to the lands described in the above act.

Commissioners of board of works appointed commissioners to sell the fifteen hundred acres of land formerly allotted to Trelawney town; and two months' notice of the sale to be given.

In case cash or island certificates cannot be obtained from the purchasers, credit may be given on security, and a deposit of ten per cent of purchase-money.—Three hundred acres to be reserved for the use of his Majesty's troops.

The purchase-money, or security for the same, to be lodged in the hands of the receiver-general.

A surveyor to be appointed, who is to lay out the land in lots of one hundred acres.

Receiver-general to have a commission of two and a half per cent.

An Act to prevent the return to this island of the rebellious Maroons of Trelawney Town, sentenced to transportation; and for other purposes.—[1*st May*, 1796.]

The negroes of Trelawney Town having broke out into rebellion, and been compelled to sue for mercy, are to be transported from the island; and if they escape from confinement, or return from transportation, they are to be tried by 32 Geo. III. cap. 4. and on conviction to suffer death.

Persons aiding them to escape, or harbouring them after their return, guilty of felony.

An Act to prevent any intercourse and communication between the slaves of this island, and foreign slaves of a certain description; and for other purposes—[14th March, 1799]

All slaves who have resided in St. Domingo, or any other island, &c. belonging to, or under government of France, since 23d August, 1791, to be exported within six months, under penalty of two hundred pounds for each, except such as have been certified under 35 G. III. cap 22 or 36 G. III cap. 19. as well as domestic slaves of French persons in Kingston or Port-Royal, who shall obtain certificates.

No such slaves to be sold, manumised or purchased, except for exportation, under penalty of three hundred pounds

Former as well as future sales of such slaves declared void; except in small numbers from one person to another and these must also be exported.

After six months, no French slaves, as above described, to be hired, possessed, harboured, or entertained in, nor to be brought into this island; and no foreign slaves, as before described, to remain in this island; except domestic slaves having certificates, who may abide, and be hired or employed in Kingston and Port-Royal.

On information, or suspicion of foreign slaves being hired, harboured, &c. after the time limited by law, any magistrate may associate two others with himself, and inquire into the grounds thereof; and if well founded, may summon parties to produce such slaves, and witnesses to give evidence respecting them.

If persons summoned shut their gates, or otherwise prevent or evade the service, copy of summons, affixed to or left at dwelling to be good service.

Persons disobeying such summons, or behaving contumaciously before the magistrates, may be committed to gaol for three months.

Persons convicted of hiring or entertaining such slaves contrary to law, to be fined two hundred pounds for each slave hired, &c. besides two hundred pounds for each such

slave they refuse or neglect to produce before the magistrates and to be imprisoned until fine paid.

Informer may prosecute, but penalty on conviction to go to the public

On refusal to produce such slaves before magistrates when summoned, warrant to be issued for their apprehension

Persons resisting such warrant to forfeit two hundred pounds

Deputy marshals making other levies in civil causes, while executing such warrants, levies to be void The officer to be liable to all damages, and, on conviction, to be imprisoned for six months.

Proceedings against such slaves declared to be a criminal process, and only such descriptions as may identify them necessary,

Proscribed slaves produced before magistrates, or apprehended by warrant, to be committed to gaol until transported, unless proof is made that they are not of such description

Justices to issue their order to provost-marshal to sell such slaves for transportation. Copy of proceedings, and order to be sent to clerk of peace to be recorded Penalty of five hundred pounds on gaol-keepers refusing to receive and detain such slaves

Provost marshal to execute such order of justices as soon as may be, under penalty of five hundred pounds. Sales to be advertised for two weeks.

Purchasers of such slaves to give bond in five hundred pounds penalty, to export them within thirty days, and to keep them in confinement during that time; bond to be lodged in clerk of peace's office

Purchaser to make oath, that slaves shall be exported, and that they shall not be relanded

No slave to be delivered until bond taken, and oath made, under penalty of three hundred pounds on provost-marshal, &c. and if slave found again, to be forfeited.

Such slaves going at large, may be apprehended by any

person, and on due proof, resold by order of a magistrate, for transportation, and one moiety of the proceeds to be paid to the informer.

Foreign persons of colour or negroes going at large, except on the properties they belong to (unless protected under 39 Geo. III. cap. 30, or by certificate, or under the care of a white person conducting them for transportation) to be apprehended and carried before a magistrate, who is to associate with two others, and take examination; and unless residence be sanctioned, to commit them to gaol, and cause them to be sold for transportation.

In such cases where there is doubt, the *onus probandi* to lie on the claimant.

Slaves formerly transported from this island, already returned, or who may return thereto, to be treated in all respects as proscribed slaves.

If foreign slaves are found employed in droggers, &c. the vessel to be seized and condemned.

In such case, the slaves to be sold for transportation. Proviso. Not to extend to vessels in foreign trade, or trading under free port acts.

Foreign seafaring slaves not to go about at large on shore, under pain of being apprehended and dealt with as proscribed slaves, if of that description, and of being sent to the workhouse if they are not.

Foreigners or negroes found exciting sedition, or suspected thereof, to be apprehended and committed to gaol for trial; (in which the evidence of slaves is to be admitted) and if convicted, to suffer death. In doubtful cases, transportation for life.

Regulations for foreign slaves in Kingston and Port Royal; the owners of such, on thirty days from 25th March, annually, are to give in their names and descriptions at clerk of peace's office, and certificates are to be granted them; to be in force for one year. Slaves to be registered.

No stamp duty or fee on certificates; and if lost, they

may be renewed, paying a fee of two shillings and sixpence to clerk of the peace.

Clerk of peace to make return to custos of certificates granted annually, in forty days from 25th of March, which is to be transmitted to governor, under penalty of one hundred pounds, for which he is to receive one hundred pounds yearly, by an order on receiver-general.

No foreign domestic slaves to be hired out, but in Kingston or Port-Royal, nor to be sent into the country (in which cases, certificate of no avail) nor to be hired on board vessels, under one hundred pounds penalty. In case of seizure of vessel, for having such slaves, *onus probandi* to lie on claimant. Proviso. Foreign slaves who have never been in St. Domingo, or any other island, &c. belonging to France, or to any nation at war with Great Britain since hostilities commenced, as well as those who quitted St. Domingo, &c. before 23d August, 1791, not affected by this act.

Persons swearing falsely to obtain certificates, guilty of perjury.

In case of suspicious slaves being brought to be certificated, they are to be proceeded against as proscribed slaves; unless proof is made that they are not of such description.

All foreign slaves found in Kingston or Port-Royal without certificates, after 24th April, to be taken up and examined (except seafaring slaves on the wharfs) and if certificate lost, by negligence, owner to be fined ten shillings, and slaves sent to workhouse; but if it appears that any slave apprehended has not been certificated, they are to be proceeded against as directed in the case of proscribed slaves.

Constables, &c. wilfully destroying certificates, to be fined twenty pounds.

Governor, by proclamation, may order all foreign domestic slaves to be exported, and in case of non-compliance, may issue his warrant to provost-marshal to take up and confine them.

Masters of vessels, on arrival, to declare on oath to naval

officer, if slaves on board his vessel other than the crew, and specify particulars in writing. Proviso. Vessels from the coast of Africa excepted.

Masters of vessels neglecting to declare, to forfeit seventy pounds for each slave found on board; to be recovered before three magistrates. Vessel to be detained until fine paid.

No slave to be landed without a permit from naval officer, under penalty of two hundred pounds and six months imprisonment.

Naval officer to grant no such permits under penalty of two hundred pounds, unless oath be made by the owner, that such slave is not of the description before proscribed.

Persons herein swearing falsely, guilty of perjury.

On information that permits have been fraudulently obtained, slaves to be apprehended and proceeded against as directed in respect to those proscribed.

Naval officer to receive a fee of five shillings for each permit, including the declaration list, &c. New negroes excepted; the fee to be paid by the owner.

Foreign slaves taken in the attempt to be landed, to be proceeded with as if found on shore.

Indemnity for persons executing this act. Actions to be commenced within six months. General issue may be pleaded. Treble costs to defendant, if a verdict in his favour.

Neglect of duty in agents to incur a penalty of one hundred pounds.

Penalties to be recovered in the supreme court of judicature, or in the courts of assize, and offenders to be committed to gaol till paid. Half to the king, half to the informer.

36 Geo. III. cap. 19, repealed. Offences committed under it, punishable as before.

An Act to authorize and empower the commander-in-chief for the time being to cause parties to be raised and fitted out for suppressing any rebellion, and for going in pursuit of, and reducing runaway slaves.—[*29th October*, 1807.]

Governor authorized, on application, to order out parties of militia in pursuit of rebellious or runaway slaves.

When the exigency of the case requires it, those parties may be drawn from different adjoining parishes.

During rebellion, drafts may be made from the militia in general.

A bounty of ten pounds to be paid to free volunteers.

Members of assembly, custos, &c. to be commissioners for the purposes of this act.

They may contract for fresh beef, &c. for parties; and may impress cattle, &c. if not to be had by contract. Proviso. That nothing herein contained shall in anywise defeat or interfere with any contract entered into, or to be entered into, for the subsistence of his Majesty's troops quartered in this island.

Commissioners empowered to raise shot and baggage negroes for parties. Proviso. That the number of the slaves which shall be required from the several and respective estates or individuals in any parish, or district of a parish, shall be in proportion to the whole number belonging to such estate or individual.

They may also impress cattle, carts, wains, &c. for the public service.

Notice to be given to estates of allotments of slaves, cattle, &c. In case of refusal to furnish allotments, a fine of one hundred pounds to be imposed, and a warrant for impressing to be issued. Provided always, that no chief boiler, head driver, or tradesman shall be so impressed.

Commissioners may hire, or, on necessity, impress boats, wherries, &c. for public service.

Officers commanding parties on exigency, may impress carriages, cattle, &c. giving certificates thereof to the owners; who are to receive compensation, to be ascertained.

Slaves to be valued, and if killed or disabled, their owners to receive adequate compensation; to be paid by receiver-general, on production of certificate. If not paid, to bear

interest from date. Slaves, &c. dying in public service to be paid for.

Provision for families of free persons killed in public service to be made according to the act 36 Geo. III. cap. 15, intituled, "An Act to make provision for the families of such free people of colour, &c. as shall be killed or disabled in the public service."

Pay of parties:—commanding officer twenty shillings *per diem*; other commissioned officers fifteen shillings *per diem*; non-commissioned, seven shillings and sixpence; private white man five shillings; free Indian, &c. five shillings; each slave three shillings and sixpence to be paid to their owners.

Pay only while on duty; to be paid to commanding officer, on delivering a muster roll and receipt.

Rewards to parties for taking or killing rebellious slaves:—fifteen pounds for each rebellious negro, &c. killed; twenty pounds for each taken alive; for every runaway slave above the age of fourteen years, the sum of ten pounds, and no more; and forty shillings for every negro, mulatto, or other boy or girl, under fourteen years of age, which such party shall bring in alive; slaves killed to be certified on oath by the commanding officer or two other officers.

Rewards divided into six parts:—one among the commissioned officers, five among the non-commissioned and privates. The slaves to share in the proportion of one third less than free men, and to have the reward for their own use.

Rebellious slave taken to be committed to gaol.

Commissioned officers to be tried by a general court martial, and private men by a general or regimental court martial, according to their offence.

Persons drafted subject to trial for refusing to march.

Orders of general officers on the staff to be obeyed.

Officers, privates and slaves, of parties, free from arrest.

Commissioners to attest accounts, &c. which being sworn

to by claimant, are to be audited by commissioners of accounts; who may grant certificates for the same, bearing interest.

Commissioners under this act indemnified.

Acts of any two commissioners to be valid.

Penalty of fifty pounds on commanding officer, &c. for neglect of duty.

Power of colonels to act on emergency not interfered with.

Penalties under twenty pounds are to be recovered by warrant of distraint; those above twenty pounds in the supreme court; half to the king, half to the informer.

Indemnity to public agents:—they may plead the general issue, and on proving that they acted according to the act, shall have treble costs.

An Act for providing a maintenance for people of free condition confined for debt, and slaves confined in the county gaols of this island.—[28*th November*, 1807.]

Two shillings and sixpence *per diem* for maintenance, to be allowed to each person of free condition confined for debt in the gaols of this island, also five shillings per week for slaves in confinement. Provided nevertheless, and the said gaol-keeper is required, under the like penalty, to furnish every debtor or slave being sick, with such necessaries as the physician or surgeon having the medical superintendence of such gaol shall direct in writing to be provided; and in order to make compensation to the said gaol-keepers for such sums as they shall advance in pursuance of this act, it shall be lawful for them to charge after the rate of six pounds per centum per annum on all sums actually advanced by them from the time of their respective advances, and which shall be allowed and paid the said gaol-keepers.

An Act to repeal several acts therein mentioned respecting slaves, to declare slaves assets for payment of debts and

legacies, and in what manner they shall descend and be held as property, and be sold and conveyed in certain cases. —[28*th November*, 1807.]

Whereas on the expiration of a certain act, intituled, "An Act to repeal the several acts and clauses of acts respecting slaves therein mentioned, and for the better order and government of slaves, and other purposes, the several acts and clauses of acts in and by the said act repealed, will revive and be in force. And it is expedient that all the said acts and clauses of acts, and also certain other enactments respecting slaves should be and stand repealed, to the end that the code for the protection and government of slaves may be simplified, and as much as may be consolidated: Be it therefore enacted, and it is hereby enacted, that from and after the first day of December next, all and every the laws and acts hereinafter mentioned, and every part thereof, be and stand repealed; any thing in the said laws, or in any other law contained, to the contrary in any anywise notwithstanding; *videlicet*, An Act of the governor, council, and assembly of this island, intituled, "An Act for regulating servants," passed in the year of our Lord 1681; also one other act of the lieutenant-governor, council, and assembly, intituled, "An Act for the better order and government of slaves," passed in the year of our Lord 1696; also one other act, intituled, "An Act for the more effectual punishing of crimes committed by slaves," passed in the year of our Lord 1717; also one other act, intituled, "An Act for the encouragement of voluntary parties to suppress rebellious and runaway negroes," passed in the year of our Lord 1718; also one other act, intituled, "An Act to inflict further and other punishments on the transgressors of two several acts, the one intituled, 'An Act for the better order and government of slaves,' and the other intituled, 'An Act to prevent the enticing or enveigling of slaves from the possessors, and for the preventing the transportation of slaves by mortgagers and tenants for life and years; and for regulating abuses

committed by slaves,'" passed in the year of our Lord 172 , also one other act to repeal part of an act, intituled, "An Act for the more effectual punishment of crimes committed by slaves, and to oblige the several parishes to pay for all negroes executed in each respective parish," passed in the year of our Lord 1740, also one other act, intituled, "An Act to explain and amend an Act, intituled, "An Act for the better order and government of slaves and for making free and rewarding a negro named Hector, belonging to Thomas Fuller, esquire, and paying his said master the value of the said negro'" pa d in the year of our Lord 1744, also one other act, intitu d "An Act to inflict further and other punishment on negro slaves, and such as shall entertain them passed in the year of our Lord 1749, also one other act to repeal part of an act, intituled, "An Act to repeal part of an act, intituled, 'An Act for the more effectual punishment of crimes committed by slaves, and to oblige the several parishes to pay for all negroes executed in each respective parish,'" passed in the said year of our Lord 1749, also, "An Act to prevent the clandestine killing and marking of cattle, and for the better regulating of hunting," passed in the said year of our Lord 1719, also one other act, intituled, "An Act to explain part of an act, intituled, 'An Act for the better order and government of slaves, and for inflicting further and other punishments on persons killing negroes or slaves,' passed in the year of our Lord 1751, also one other act, intituled, "An Act to remedy the evils arising from irregular assemblies of slaves, and to prevent their possessing arms and ammunition, and going from place to place without tickets, and for preventing the practice of obeah, and to restrain overseers from leaving the estates under their care on certain days, and to oblige all free negroes, mulattos or Indians, to register their names in the vestry-books of the respective parishes of this island, and to carry about them the certificate, and wear the badge of their freedom, and to prevent any captain, master or supercargo

of any vessel bringing back slaves transported off this island," passed in the year of our Lord 1760; also one other act, intituled, "An Act to explain and amend an act, intituled, 'An Act to remedy the evils arising from irregular assemblies of slaves, and to prevent their possessing arms and ammunition, and going from place to place without tickets, and for preventing the practice of obeah, and to restrain overseers from leaving the estates under their care on certain days, and to oblige all free negroes, mulattos or Indians, to register their names in the vestry-books of the respective parishes of this island, and to carry about them the certificate, and wear the badge of their freedom; and to prevent any captain, master or supercargo of any vessel bringing back slaves transported off this island," passed in the year of our Lord 1761; also one other act, intituled, "An Act to repeal an act, intituled, 'An Act for the more effectual preventing negroes and other slaves from deserting from their owners, and departing from this island in a clandestine manner, and to punish such persons as shall be aiding, assisting or abetting such slaves in their escape, and for the more effectual preventing negroes and other slaves from deserting from their owners, and departing from this island in a clandestine manner, and to punish such persons as shall be aiding, assisting or abetting such slaves in their escape,'" passed in the year of our Lord 1771; also one other act, passed in the year of our Lord 1778, intituled, "An Act to explain, alter and amend an act, passed in the year of our Lord 1696, intituled, 'An Act for the better order and government of slaves;'" and also one other act, intituled, "An Act to repeal several acts and clauses of acts respecting slaves, and for the better order and government of slaves, and for other purposes," passed the twenty-second day of December, in the year of our Lord 1787

Slaves not to be free by becoming Christians; they are to be taken for debts when no other effects can be got.

Their children stand in the parents situation: provided

nevertheless, that nothing in this clause shall extend, or be construed to extend, to leases heretofore made, any thing in this or any other act to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

8 Gul III cap 2, clause 40 in last recited act to be considered as in full force, it having been made void by mistake

Slaves for dower may be taken for debts. Husband's sale of his slaves to bar the widow.

Books to be kept, wherein entries must be made of slaves bought and sold Substance of the entries, which shall confirm titles, but such entries not to be effectual to transfer slaves of a femme covert. Erasure of entries to be punished like erasure of records, also a clerk refusing to make entry when legal fee tendered, to forfeit ten pounds.

An Act for the protection, subsisting, clothing, and for the better order, regulation, and government of slaves, and for other purposes.—[14*th December*, 1809.]

Slaves to be allowed one day in every fortnight, besides Sundays, except during crop, under penalty of twenty pounds

Negro grounds to be inspected every month. Where there are not proper lands, each slave is to have provision equal to three shillings and fourpence per week.

Proper clothing to be given to slaves annually, under penalty of fifty pounds.

Yearly accounts to be given in of the provision made for and clothing delivered to slaves, under penalty of fifty pounds

Possessors of slaves not to turn them away on account of infirmity, but keep them on their properties, and provide for them, under penalty of twenty pounds. Wandering slaves may be taken up and sent to the workhouse to be supported, till possessor summoned, and matter inquired into. If pos-

sessor found guilty and refusing to pay penalty, workhouse fees, &c. he is to be sent to gaol till he pay.

Justices and vestries to lay taxes for support of disabled negroes, who are to be passed to the parishes where their former owners resided, as are those free poor who have been manumised. Vestries to make regulations for their accommodation.

In the case of manumised persons becoming burthensome to any parish, such parish may have recourse to the security-bond entered into under 15 Geo. III. cap. 18.

Property of owners liable for support of deserted slaves, though not in the parish they become burthensome to.

Disabled slaves, the property of insolvent debtors, in custody of provost marshal, may be removed by order of two magistrates in the parish where their owner resided. Such order being recorded in clerk of peace's office, provost marshal and his deputies indemnified in acting under it.

If negroes afflicted with the yaws are allowed to leave the property and travel about the country, the owner, &c. permitting the same to forfeit twenty pounds for each.

Field slaves are to have half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner, and not to work before five nor after seven, except during crop, under penalty of fifty pounds.

Slaves to be allowed the usual holidays; but they are not to have two successive days; except at Christmas. If persons allow them more holidays at those seasons, they forfeit five pounds.

Slaves taking up runaways, or discovering their being harboured; are to be rewarded at discretion of a magistrate. If they kill or take rebels they are to be also rewarded.

Persons wilfully killing slaves to suffer death. Blood not corrupted thereby.

Persons mutilating slaves, or consenting thereto, may be fined one hundred pounds and imprisoned twelve months, besides being liable to an action of damages. Court may in atrocious cases manumit mutilated slaves, and order the

penalty to be paid to vestry, who are to allow the slaves ten pounds per annum. Slaves complaining to a magistrate may be sent to the workhouse, to be supported and attended till meeting of vestry, who are hereby created a council of protection, and are to inquire into such mutilations, and prosecute the offenders. Owners may be sued for costs. Workhouse keeper to produce mutilated slaves at first vestry under penalty of twenty pounds.

Justices being informed that slaves are mutilated or confined without support, are to issue their warrants, in order that they may be brought before them.

Persons cruelly beating slaves, or confining them without support, may be fined and imprisoned at discretion of the court, and also be liable to actions of damages.

No slave to have more than ten lashes at a time for one offence, unless the owner, &c. or supervisor, &c. be present, nor more than thirty-nine on any account in one day, under penalty of not less than ten pounds nor more than twenty pounds.

Penalty of from five pounds to fifty pounds on persons putting weights or chains on slaves, or iron collars, other than a light iron one without hooks, to indicate that such slave is an incorrigible runaway. Justices under penalty of one hundred pounds to have such collars, &c. taken off.

No slave to travel (unless to market) without a ticket, under penalty of forty shillings on the owner &c. if he cannot prove he gave a ticket, or that the slave went without his consent. If justices do not inflict this penalty, they forfeit five pounds.

Tickets to be only for one month. Free people granting tickets to slaves of others to be punished as the court shall direct. White people doing so shall also be punished at discretion of the court.

Penalty of fifty pounds for not endeavouring to suppress unlawful assemblies of slaves. Information must be given within fourteen days. Civil and military officers to suppress

such assemblies. Overseers, &c. who suffer such assemblies to be imprisoned six months; if information given within fourteen days. Slaves may have diversions on the properties they belong to, if no drums, &c. are used; but they must be over by ten at night. Negro burials to be over by sunset, or owner, &c. forfeits fifty pounds. Burials in the towns, &c. must also be over before sunset. Free people suffering assemblies at their houses to be imprisoned; if complained of in fourteen days.

Owners, &c. of slaves knowingly permitting them to keep horses, &c. to forfeit thirty pounds for each offence. When stock given in, oath to be made that none of the horses, &c. belong to any slave, under penalty of thirty pounds for neglect or refusal. Any person discovering horses, &c. belonging to slaves, must send them to the pound. Such horses, &c. to be four weeks advertised, and sold, if not claimed.

Female slaves who have six children living are exempted from hard labour, and their owners from taxes for them; proof being given that the mother and children are living.

Slaves concerned in rebellion, or committing murder, &c. to suffer death, transportation, &c.

If slaves offer violence to white or free people, court to order punishment; unless sufficient reason shewn.

Slaves possessing fire-arms are to be tried and punished by death, transportation, or other punishment.

Slaves pretending to supernatural power may be sentenced to death, &c. Slaves preparing or giving poison, though death does not ensue, are to suffer death. Slaves having any poisonous drugs, pounded glass, &c. in their possession, to be transported, or punished at the discretion of the court.

Slaves found at any meeting, formed for administering unlawful oaths, &c. are to be punished as court shall direct, as are white or free people present at such meeting. Persons having knowledge of such unlawful meetings, and not

giving information thereof, to be punished at discretion of court.

Slaves stealing horned cattle, sheep, horses, &c. may be condemned to death. If slaves have in their possession twenty pounds of meat unaccounted for, they are to be whipped not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and if above twenty pounds, justices to assign punishment not affecting life.

Slaves maiming or injuring horned cattle, horses, &c. to be punished with fifty lashes, or two months hard labour; and if the animal die, the punishment to be death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour for life. Wantonly cutting and chopping any other slave, discretionary punishment, short of death; second offence death, or transportation for life.

Slaves clearing their grounds by fire shall be punished for misdemeanor. Overseers, &c. having knowledge that any fire has been made for such purpose, and not doing their utmost to extinguish it, to be fined at discretion of two justices.

Slaves absent five days, or found eight miles from home without tickets, to be deemed runaways.

Slaves who have been here two years, and shall run away for six months, to be punished as the court shall direct. Those who continue absent for a shorter period, not more than six months, to be flogged, or kept to hard labour for three months. Slaves harbouring runaways to be adjudged by a slave court. Owners, &c. to pay ten shillings and mile-money for each runaway taken up, but this not to be given to the Maroons in addition to the established reward for them. Runaways to be conveyed to owners, or to a work house or nearest gaol. Workhouse or gaol-keeper to pay reward and mile-money under penalty. Workhouse or gaol-keeper to advertise weekly, in each county, all runaways in their possession, and full descriptions of them, under penalty of ten pounds. Charges three shillings and fourpence for

each paper per month, which owners are to reimburse. Printers' accounts to be paid annually by treasurers. Slaves may be detained till advertising is paid for, as well as the reward, with twelve and half per cent. Sixpence per day for maintenance, twopence per day for medical care where necessary, which charges must be attested. The owner of a slave shall not be answerable for workhouse fees during the slave's committal. Slaves in confinement to have sufficient provisions, under penalty of ten pounds; that is to say, not less than one quart of unground Guinea or Indian corn, or three pints of the flour or meal of either, or three pints of wheat flour, or eight full-grown plantains, or eight pounds of cocoas or yams, and also one herring or shad, or other salted provisions equal thereto, and shall also, under the like penalty, provide and supply every such slave, confined as aforesaid, with good and sufficient clothing where necessary.

Public notice to be given by supervisors, &c. of replevins, &c. brought against them for slaves in the workhouse. If any person give notice to supervisors, &c. of an intention to defend such actions, supervisors must detain in custody the slaves in dispute under penalty.

Runaways to be committed to workhouses only.

Slaves attempting to depart this island, or assisting others in such attempts, may be sentenced to death. Free people of colour assisting slaves in going off, are to be transported, and suffer death if they return. If white people do so, they forfeit three hundred pounds for each, and may be imprisoned a year. Accessaries may be proceeded against, though principals be not convicted.

If slaves, not authorized, travel with dogs, &c. or hunt with instruments of death, punishment may be awarded by two justices. On complaint of felonies, burglaries, &c. by slaves, justice to issue a warrant. Slaves to be evidence against each other. Justices to call in two other justices, (who must attend, or each forfeit twenty pounds) and they

are to summon a jury, from which master or attorney, &c. are excepted. Jurors not attending to forfeit five pounds. Nine persons to compose a jury. If slaves convicted, justices may give sentence of death, transportation, &c. Justices may suspend execution for thirty days, if they see cause; and must do it on application of the jury; except in cases of rebellion, when they may order immediate execution When business of quarter session ended, justices to form themselves into a slave court, for the purpose of gaol delivery. Not less than three justices to constitute a court for trial of slaves in certain cases. Where slaves are indicted for murder, if malice prepense do not appear, verdict of manslaughter may be returned. Jurors summoned for quarter sessions must serve in slave courts, under penalty of five pounds Penalty of ten pounds on persons warned to attend trials and neglecting to do so. Jurors, witnesses, &c. under this act, protected in their persons, and slaves from being levied on. Records to be kept by clerk of the peace, who must attend trials, and record proceedings in thirty days, under penalty of twenty pounds. Deputy marshals must warn jurors, and attend at such trials, under penalty of fifty pounds. Punishment on slaves for giving false evidence, to be the same as the accused would have suffered if guilty. If slaves, against whom warrants are issued, are concealed by owners, &c. they forfeit one hundred pounds. Six days notice of trial to be given to owners, &c. of slaves. Where owners reside in a different parish to that in which their slaves may have committed offences, and are to be tried, the notice to be transmitted to the clerk of the peace of the parish where the owner resides. Execution must be public and solemn. Slaves sentenced to be executed or transported to be valued by the court. Provost marshal must execute orders of slave-courts as soon as possible, under penalty of two hundred pounds. Valuation of slaves sentenced to death, &c. under this act, to be paid by receiver-general. Purchasers of slaves sentenced to transportation to

give bond in five hundred pounds penalty to transport them in thirty days. Bond to be lodged in clerk of peace's office. Purchasers to make oath that slaves shall be transported, and that they shall not be relanded. No slave to be delivered until bond taken and oath made, under penalty. Such slaves going at large may be apprehended by any person, and on due proof resold. If slaves return from transportation, they are to suffer death. Masters of vessels bringing back transported slaves to forfeit three hundred pounds for each, and suffer imprisonment at the discretion of the court. Slaves sentenced to confinement in workhouse for two years, escaping, may be ordered fifty lashes and recommitted. and those sentenced for life escaping, may be transported. If marshal, constable, &c. suffer them to escape, they forfeit fifty pounds and may be sued for their value. Fees of slaves discharged by proclamation to be paid by the public, proof being given that they were properly maintained. Gaol-keepers not to work out slaves sent to them for confinement, under penalty of fifty pounds. Two justices may inquire into inferior crimes, giving notice to owners, &c. of slaves, and order punishment. Clerks of peace to attend such summary trials, under penalty of fifty pounds for which they are to be paid one pound six shillings and eightpence Justices to enforce this act as well during martial law as at other times

Penalties not before disposed of, under fifty pounds to be recovered by summary process; above fifty-pounds in the supreme courts. Half to the parish; half to the informer. Proceedings to be commenced within twelve months. Offences committed under former act may be heard, tried, &c. as if it were still in force.

An Act to enable persons of colour, and negroes of free condition, to save deficiencies for their own slaves, and for the slaves of each other.—[*4th December*, 1813.]

53 Geo. III. cap. 27, clause 4, repealed.

Persons of colour, or negroes of free condition, allowed to keep, hire, or employ persons of the same free condition, agreeably to the number of slaves they possess, and according to the scale and proportion of the above act, notwithstanding any thing in the said act contained.

They are to save deficiencies for themselves, or for others, in all cases wherein white persons are allowed by the above act to do so.

In all other cases not herein mentioned, all duties, &c. and forms, *mutatis mutandis*, to be considered applicable to such persons.

This act to be in force until 31st December, 1816.

An Act to repeal several acts, and the clause of an act of this island, respecting persons of free condition, and for granting to such persons certain privileges —[*4th Dec.* 1813.]

21 Geo. II. cap. 7; 2 Geo. III. cap. 8; 36 Geo. III. cap. 23; and 25 Geo. III. cap. 17, clause 1, repealed.

Persons of free condition born in this island or manumised pursuant to law, and baptized, permitted to give evidence in future in the courts of this island; but not unless baptized six months previously to give evidence, and manumitted twelve months previously.

All persons of free condition, in the several parishes of this island, to give in their names and places of abode, and certificates to be granted them. Such certificates, or the record thereof, to be considered good proof of freedom.

Persons of free condition committing perjury to be punished agreeably to the laws of Great Britain.

Droggers plying round the island may be navigated by persons of free condition, or slaves, but the master to be a native subject of free condition.

An Act to enable the justices and vestry of the several parishes of this island to fit out parties of confidential slaves.—[*4th December*, 1813.]

On representation of justices and vestry of any parish, governor empowered to authorize them to hire and fit out parties of confidential slaves to go in pursuit of runaways, and to appoint officers thereto. There must be at least one white person with every twenty negroes. Such officers and non-commissioned officers to be appointed by warrant under hand of custos or senior magistrate; and they are to be paid agreeably to the rate allowed by 48 Geo. III. cap. 4. Besides their pay and hire, such parties are to be allowed the like rewards as are granted by the above act. All slaves going on such parties are to be valued and appraised; and if any be killed, the owner to be allowed such value; and if any disabled, adequate compensation to be given. Tax to be levied on each parish for defraying the above expenses; but nothing in this act to interfere with the Party Law or Militia Law. In case two parishes join to fit out parties, officer whose warrant is of the oldest date is to have the command.

An Act for rendering more effectual two certain acts of this island, respecting foreign slaves and foreigners of a certain description; one passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, and the other passed in the year one thousand eight hundred and one.—[23d *November*, 1814.]

39 Geo. III. cap. 29; 41 Geo. III. cap. 17, are the two acts alluded to.

Additional declaration to be made by aliens on their arrival in this island. In the event of refusal, or making false declaration, to be tried, and committed to gaol, to wait the pleasure of the governor.

Aliens to produce the certificate of the naval officer before a justice of the peace; and in Kingston before the corporate body, within twenty-four hours after obtaining the same; and permission to reside in the parish is to be granted them, if no good cause to the contrary. Governor may order off the island any alien offending herein.

In the event of there not being a proclamation in force,

masters of vessels not to suffer persons to land before the arrival of the ship in port, under penalty of one hundred pounds for each alien; and if the alien land without his consent, he shall report it to the naval officer or his deputy, under forfeiture of one hundred pounds.

Aliens are to appear with their certificates once a year before the justice of the peace, and in Kingston before the corporate body, under penalty in case of refusal of being committed to gaol.

Captains commanding companies or troops of militia, or aliens enlisting, must return their names and residences, &c. to the colonel, under penalty of ten pounds

Persons having aliens in their employ or resident with them must give in an account of them to police officer (if in Kingston), and to clerks of peace in other parishes, under penalty of one hundred pounds: and those employing any in future must, within fourteen days, make a return of them under the same penalty. The like notice to be given on aliens quitting their employment or residence.

Fee to the police officer and clerks of peace to be two and sixpence, and penalty if they neglect to enter such returns, to be five pounds. Punishment on masters of vessels neglecting to comply with the regulations contained in the act of 41 Geo. III. cap. 17, shall be imprisonment for three months, and the penalty imposed by that act. Negroes, &c. from St Domingo found here, without a license from the governor, to be deemed persons of a dangerous description Twenty pounds reward to persons apprehending them and to witnesses.

Governor empowered to order search to be made for aliens, and to apprehend, secure, and send them off the island, if necessary for public safety. Under such orders of the governor, persons may command access for search by force. Officers, &c. of militia disobeying such orders, to be tried by a court martial. Persons sent off the island under this act, to suffer death if they return. Expenses incurred to be paid

by the receiver-general, after being audited by the commissioners of public accounts. Owners, &c. of drogging vessels carrying aliens or foreign slaves from one port to another without a passport, to forfeit seventy pounds for each. This act to be in force until 31st December, 1817.

An Act for the more particular return of slaves in this island, and the enrolment thereof.—[*29th November*, 1816.]

Proprietors to return perfect lists of slaves, according to an annexed schedule, with a particular description of name, person, &c. &c. Runaway slaves, within the last three years, to be described and marked as runaway. But no tenant or tenants, by parole only, of slaves, to be bound to make a return, unless the person of whom they hire shall be an absentee, or unrepresented in the island by attorney or agent. Schedules to be delivered on application, and payment of not exceeding fivepence a sheet. Returns to be verified on oath; only affirmation if a quaker. Returns to be renewed every third year, and increase or decrease specified; same proviso as in the first clause with respect to tenants.

Slaves belonging to the crown, and employed about the person of the governor, shall be made and verified on the oath of the governor's private secretary, or lieutenant-governor, under penalty of one hundred pounds.

No clerk of vestry, under penalty of five hundred pounds, to receive any return, either original or triennial, after the twenty-eighth of September in the year of each return; except when it shall appear on oath to the satisfaction of the justices and assembled vestry, that the neglect or delay in giving in the return arose from inadvertence or unavoidable cause. Clerk of the vestry to indorse on the return the date of its being filed with him. Returns to be considered as public records, and if injured by the negligence of the clerk of the vestry he shall forfeit one hundred pounds. Clerks of the vestry, under penalty of five hundred pounds and incapacity of holding office, shall cause returns to be copied,

make affidavit to the correctness of the copy, and cause copy to be delivered at the office of the secretary of the island. Secretary of the governor to deliver to the governor, for transmission to his Majesty's secretary of state, the certified copy of the returns under penalty of five hundred pounds. Extracts from the original returns to be received as legal evidence. A hundred pounds penalty for every slave not returned; penalty to be recovered in the supreme court; half to the prosecutor, half to the crown. Also owners so neglecting to be proceeded against, as and for an importation of slaves contrary to the abolition laws; but may plead, and give proof to the contrary. If judgment be had for the crown, order shall be made for the delivery over of the slave, who shall be disposed of as if imported contrary to the abolition law.

Secretary to be paid by the public, for recording authentic copies of returns at the rate which he is entitled to charge for recording the deeds, as also shall the vestry clerk. Individuals to pay for extracts. Time for making return may be extended, when previously passed by through inadvertence, on petition to the governor. Proceedings against defaulters may be stayed, before judgment passed, on the petitioner paying the costs of all parties. False oaths or affirmations to be punished as perjury. Penalties, the recovery of which is not provided for, to be recovered in the supreme court; one half to the king, the other to the informer. All returns, papers, &c. made necessary by the act, to be exempt from stamp duty.

An Act in furtherance of the abolition laws within this island. —[19*th December*, 1816.]

Importation of slaves declared unlawful since the passing of the British abolition acts. No property can be had in any slave since imported. Any person wilfully keeping a slave unlawfully imported shall forfeit one hundred and forty

pounds currency, and be imprisoned not exceeding twelve months.

Justices of the peace, upon information verified by affidavits of credible witnesses, may, in conjunction with two other justices, summon the party accused before them, and command them to produce the slave or slaves respecting whom the information is laid, and if the charge be found to be true the slave shall be forfeited. Summons affixed at the gate, or left at the dwelling-house, shall be valid, where it cannot be personally served. Persons refusing to appear on summons, may be apprehended on warrant. On the slave in question not being produced, justices shall issue warrant to bring him before them. Gates may be broken open by the officers on refusal to deliver up the African said to be illegally imported. Penalty of one hundred and forty pounds on persons resisting the officers. Process to be considered as a criminal one. Parties who are proceeded against may appeal to the governor, to whom justices must transmit copies of the proceedings. Witnesses not appearing when summoned shall forfeit fifty pounds Witnesses while attending or coming to attend, or returning, to be protected from arrest. Witnesses refusing to be examined on oath, to be imprisoned, not exceeding three months; or prevaricating, shall be subject to the usual penalty of the law for such offence. Justices of the peace to certify condemnations to the governor.

After the passing of this act, no negro arriving in any ship or vessel to land without a permit in writing from the naval officer or his deputy, except such seafaring negroes are *bona fide* employed as mariners on board, on pain, if free, of being committed to gaol for three months, and, if not free, of being sent to the public workhouse for three months, for the purpose of further proceedings in their behalf as shall seem expedient. Master of vessels arriving shall declare on oath, and also give in a list, of what negroes he may have on board; and on refusal, shall be subject to a penalty of one

hundred and forty pounds. Same penalty and twelve months imprisonment, for any master of vessel landing a slave without a permit in writing from the naval officer or his deputy. Perjury in any master to swear falsely in this respect. Naval officer entitled to ten shillings for each permit. Naval officer not to grant permit, under penalty of one hundred and forty pounds, before master has made declaration on oath.

In case of an attempt to land slaves fraudulently from any vessel, it shall be lawful for any person to seize the slave and carry him before a justice, who, with two others, on the fact of clandestine landing being established, shall declare the slave forfeited to the crown. For every African so condemned a reward of fifty pounds shall be paid to the informer.

Any person sued for acts done in pursuance of this act, may plead the act, give it in evidence, and in case of a verdict, shall have treble costs. No writ shall be sued out against, or copy of process served on, any justice of peace, or person acting under his directions, for any thing done in pursuance of this act, until notice in writing is previously given to him, indorsed by plaintiff's attorney; and no evidence shall be given but what is contained in the notice. Treble costs to defendant on a verdict being given for him.

All public officers refusing or neglecting to perform the duties imposed by the act shall forfeit fifty pounds, in cases where no penalty is provided by other clauses of the act. Justices may commit to gaol, for penalties recoverable before them, till penalties be paid. All penalties, the mode of recovering which is not specified, shall be recovered in the supreme court of judicature, or court of assize, and no essoign, protection, &c. &c. &c. shall be granted, or *non vult ulterius prosequi* be entered.

NEVIS.

An Act to prevent slaves from selling sugar, rum, molasses, syrups, canes, cane sugar, live stock, butcher's meat, and other things: also, from carrying off this island live stock and butcher's meat, without tickets from the owners or managers.—[11*th February*, 1796.]

Slaves forbidden to sell any thing, without a ticket from under the hand of the slave owner, except fire-wood, grass, vines, herbs, pulse, grain, roots, food made of roots, crabs, sea-fish, and the slave's own particular manufacture. Tickets to specify the name and quality of the thing to be sold, and to be valid only one day. Property under the value of six shillings, offered by a slave without a ticket, may be seized and converted to his own use by any white person. When property above the value of six shillings, the slave to be delivered to the provost marshal, or his deputy, or the keeper of the common gaol. Slave to be delivered to his owner with the goods, on the owner paying six shillings. Slaves may be punished, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, for selling without a ticket. Slaves selling sugar, cane-liquor, &c. &c. &c. without a ticket, to receive thirty-nine lashes. Persons buying may be indicted as receivers of stolen goods, independent of a penalty of twenty pounds.

No master or commander of a boat or vessel shall take on board any live stock or butcher's meat, or live stock to be transported to another place, without a ticket, under penalty of twenty pounds.

Persons giving slaves a ticket in the owner or manager's name, without their consent, to forfeit twenty pounds. Persons taking property from a slave which he is allowed to sell, or having a ticket, to be fined twenty pounds,—part of the fine to satisfy the slave for his loss, the remainder to the

poor of the parish. Nothing in this act, however, to affect any thing in an act of the 11 Geo. II. and of the 4 Geo. I.

Where no white evidence can be obtained against any white offender under this act, the presumed offender must pay the penalty, or clear himself upon oath.

Fines to be levied by distress and sale, and if the fine be not paid in three days the goods to be sold. Overplus, deducting charges, to be paid to the offender. Penalties, half to the king, half to the informer. Where no effects, the delinquent to be imprisoned for three months. Treble costs to defendants obtaining a verdict when prosecuted for executing this act. Act to continue in force seven years, and till the end of the sitting assembly.

An Act for the encouragement of such negroes and other slaves as shall behave themselves courageously against the enemy in time of invasion.—[4th *June*, 1795.]

Every negro who in time of invasion shall courageously conduct himself, and behave with fidelity to his master, so as to distinguish himself, shall be rewarded either with freedom, or a sum of money, as the council and assembly may deem proper.

Every negro, so emancipated, shall be valued on oath by two freeholders, and the valuation shall be paid to the master by the public treasurer, and if at the time there shall not be sufficient money to pay the same, the master shall receive eight per cent. per annum interest, till the principal is paid.

Every negro killed shall be paid for by the treasury. Such as are maimed in action shall be made free, and receive five pounds annually, during life, from the treasury.

SAINT CHRISTOPHER.

An Act for raising a tax of fifteen shillings per poll on all negro and other slaves, and six pounds per centum on the yearly value of all houses, warehouses, stores, shops, and tenements within the several towns of this island, to be applied for and towards the purchase of a certain number of negroes and other slaves for the use of the public of this island; and for directing and appointing in what manner such negro and other slaves shall be employed.—[20th *December*, 1789.]

A hundred and twenty slaves to be purchased for the fortifications of the island. Each owner to have the power of selling one slave on this occasion. Slaves to be solely employed on the fortifications. Commissioners, or any three of them, to enquire into the employment of the slaves, and if they find them misemployed, to report to the council and assembly, who may sell the slaves. Slaves to be sold by the commissioners, as soon as the works are completed. Money arising from the sale to be paid into the treasury, under pain of treble forfeiture. Council and assembly, or any seven of them, to name commissioners. Money for purchase of negroes, to be raised by a poll tax of fifteen shillings on each slave, and six per cent. on houses, &c. &c. Owners and agents to deliver in a list upon oath of slaves, under penalty of two hundred pounds. Commissioners to give notice to owners when to appear and return the number of slaves, and value of houses, &c. &c. Treasurer ordered to prosecute all who neglect or refuse to make returns. Governor empowered to name commissioners in place of those dead or absent. Treasurer to give notice to persons to come and pay the tax, and defaulters to be distrained on. Provost marshal to forfeit three hundred pounds, if he neglect to distrain on defaulters. Owners who have sold slaves to the public, to be

paid for them at three equal payments. Governor to issue order for the payments. Treasurer to forfeit one thousand pounds, in case of neglecting to execute the act. Penalties two thirds to the public, one third to the informer. Treble costs to the defendants prosecuted for having executed this act.

An Act to restrain thefts committed by negro and other slaves, and to prevent the dishonest traffic carried on by such as deal with them.—[*4th May*, 1790.]

Any negro having in his possession any sugar, cotton, molasses, rum, canes, sprouts, pewter, brass, &c. &c. or any kind of merchandize, except such provision as may have been given them for allowance, without a ticket or paper from his master or mistress, containing an account of the same, or without his master or mistress being present, shall be apprehended and carried before a justice, who shall commit him to gaol, to be tried within forty-eight hours, and if found guilty he shall be publicly whipped. The informer shall receive a reward of eight and threepence from the master of the slave, and the sugar, syrup, cotton, molasses, rum, sprouts, canes, magoss and oats found on the negro shall be forfeited to the informer; and all other property shall be returned to the master, on his proving his right to them.

No white person to bargain with negroes for any article but provisions, under the penalty of ten pounds, or, if the goods shall exceed that value, to the penalty of double their value and a month's imprisonment. Two months further imprisonment, on non-payment of penalty. For second offence twenty pounds and three month's imprisonment, or double the value of the goods, if over twenty pounds. Further imprisonment of three months on non-payment of penalty. Negroes convicted of purchasing from negroes to be punished not exceeding fifty lashes. Penalties one-fourth to the informer, the rest to the treasury.

Lawful for justices to issue search warrants, on white

person swearing to his belief that any of the specified articles are concealed. Persons in whose houses concealed articles are found, if they cannot give a satisfactory account of the manner in which they obtained them, shall be held to have illegally purchased them, and be punished accordingly.

Five supervisors, with salaries of fifty pounds each, to be appointed to carry this act into effect, by the governor or commander-in-chief. Said supervisors required to be watchful in detecting offenders. They must attend when summoned by the council and assembly, or any member thereof, and give an account on oath of their conduct, and if not found diligent, shall be mulcted in the salary due, rendered incapable, and fined fifty pounds, and in case of refusal to pay, be imprisoned three months.

No negro to be permitted to be in the streets or alleys of any town between ten at night and five in the morning, without a ticket or note, or a lighted candle in a lantern. Supervisors to use all diligence in apprehending such slaves, and commit them to the cage, to be punished, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes. Owners to pay the expense of apprehension, &c. &c.

White or free persons beating, ill-treating, or taking away by force, from any negro or other slave, any articles for which they shall produce a ticket, or which they have a right to sell, shall be summoned by a justice, who shall examine them on oath, and if they do not prove a negative to the satisfaction of the magistrate, the offender shall be fined not exceeding ten pounds, to be levied on the goods and chattels, or be committed to gaol, not exceeding thirty days, in default of goods to distrain on. Persons refusing to appear on summons, shall be fined fifty pounds, or be committed for three months.

White or free person selling by retail sugar, syrup, rum, or molasses, shall be obliged, when called on, to produce a certificate, under the signature of the seller to them, or shall

be considered as having purchased them in contravention of this act.

Fines and penalties to be paid into the hands of the public treasurer. Justices, supervisors, or others, prosecuted for any thing done in enforcing the act, shall, on obtaining a verdict, be entitled to treble costs.

An Act more effectually to provide for the support, and to extend certain regulations for the protection of slaves, to promote and encourage their increase, and generally to meliorate their condition.—[*April* 21, 1798.]

Owners of slaves, under penalty of ten shillings per head for each slave, for every omission, shall weekly provide for every slave at the rate of nine pints of corn or beans, or eight pints of pease, or wheat or rye flour, or Indian corn meal, or nine pints of oatmeal, or seven pints of rice, or eight pints of Cassava flour or farine, or eight pounds of biscuit, or twenty pounds of yams or potatoes, or sixteen pounds of eddoes, tanias or tyres, or thirty pounds of plantains or bananas, and also one pound and one quarter of herrings, shads, mackarel, or other salted provisions, or double the quantity of fresh fish or other fresh provisions, all of good and wholesome quality. Owner or director, however, to have the absolute right of distributing the provision in proportions, according to difference of labour, strength, size, and age. But every aged, infirm, or sickly slave, or afflicted with any loathsome or contagious disorder, or incapable of labour, shall receive weekly at least one full rate of allowances as aforesaid. If owners, under any pretext, neglect to give the allowance to sickly and infirm slaves, they shall forfeit twenty shillings, unless such slave be provided for in the hospital or sick house.

Owners in the Leeward Islands allowed to diminish the allowance one-fifth when actually making sugar or cutting canes; but no owner or director within the Virgin Islands to

be allowed to make the diminution in any week in which he shall have been actually employed in manufacturing sugar or grinding canes. Out of crop, such owner in the Virgin Islands may make a reduction of one-fifth, on giving sufficient land to make up the difference, and where the land is not productive, shall make up the quantity in provisions. No money to be given instead of provision, unless in case of unequivocal necessity, under penalty of fifty pounds. The commutation for provisions, when absolutely necessary, to be four shillings a week, and two half days to each slave.

Whenever the quantity of provision land, cultivated with the owner's time, shall be in proportion of one acre for every ten slaves, and its produce in proportion to one half the quantity of provisions allowed by the act, it shall be lawful for the owner to diminish one half the quantity of dry provisions, leaving, nevertheless, the full quantity of fresh provisions. Proprietor must certify the quantity of ground on oath.

Proprietors to allot to each slave a piece of well-lying ground, forty feet square at least, immediately round or close to his house, if it can be done without pulling down or injuring another negro-house, and if not, in some other commodious part, under penalty of five pounds, or if he have not land enough, shall make annual compensation equal to the value to the slaves, under a like penalty of five pounds.

Proprietors shall, twice a year, on the first of January and first of August, give each male slave a jacket of sound woollen cloth, and a pair of trowsers made of good sound Osnaburgs, and to each female, a good wrapper of woollen cloth, and an Osnaburgh petticoat, unless, with consent of the slave, he shall furnish such slave with a good and sufficient blanket and a hat or cap.

Proprietors, under penalty of one hundred pounds, to make affidavit once a year that they have complied with the act. Slaves allowed half an hour for breakfast and two

hours for dinner, during which time he shall not be put to any labour, under penalty of not less than twenty shillings, nor more than five pounds. No owner to set his slave to work before five in the morning, nor after seven in the evening, unless in crop time, or from some evident necessity, under penalty of five pounds. Vestries, or council, or justices, ordered to provide at the public expence, for aged or infirm slaves, whose masters cannot be discovered. Proprietors manumitting infirm and disabled slaves shall pay three hundred pounds into the treasury, the interest of which shall be drawn by the slave so manumitted, and on the death of the slave the money shall go to the public service. Proprietors shall keep, and produce when legally called upon, a weekly account of provisions purchased, or commutation money paid, under penalty of five pounds each week omitted; also an account of clothing given to slaves, under penalty of twenty-five pounds, and shall forfeit twenty-five pounds on refusing to produce such account.

White or free coloured person, not owner or director, beating or ill treating slave, or taking away any article for which a slave has a ticket, or has a right to sell, or shall refuse to pay slave for any article purchased from him, or shall knock off the head of a slave, or trample in the dirt, &c. &c. any article, shall, on complaint made, be summoned by a justice or justices, and be compelled to answer on oath, and on refusal to attend, or failure to exculpate himself, shall be fined not more than ten pounds to be levied by distress, and in default of goods shall be committed for not more than one month; and justices may, if they think proper, give the fine as a compensation to the slave who has been ill treated.

Any person cruelly whipping, maltreating, beating, imprisoning, or keeping in confinement, without sufficient support, any slave shall be indicted for the same, and suffer such punishment, by fine or imprisonment, or both, as the court may think proper; and the court may, if it think necessary, dispose of the slave by auction to another owner.

Justices on receiving information of such offences, authorized to call the slave before them, or go to him, to inquire, and may send such slave to some public place of security or to the workhouse, till further inquiry be made. No collars or irons to be used, other than such as are absolutely necessary for securing a slave, under penalty of one hundred pounds on conviction. Justices to order such collars to be taken off, and to direct the offender to be prosecuted, if the offence appear to have been wantonly committed. Owners to provide such slaves with medical assistance, and necessary food, wine, and nourishment, under penalty of fifty pounds. Coroner's inquest, of three persons, shall be summoned on every slave, who, not under the age of six years, or natural decay, shall die suddenly without having been visited by some medical person at least forty-eight hours before death. Masters neglecting to give notice within six hours, or having slave so dying, within eighteen hours, or without having given notice, shall forfeit one hundred pounds. White or free person charged with murder or maiming a slave, whether such slave belong to such person or not, to be tried as for the murder of a white, but conviction not to affect property.

And whereas the marriage of slaves cannot give any particular right either to the contracting parties or to their children, and it being unnecessary and even improper to enforce the celebration of any religious rites among the slaves in order to sanctify contracts, the faithful performance of which can be looked for only by a regular improvement in religion, morality, and civilization, and should not be immediately enforced by any compulsory methods, lest the violation of sacred vows be too often added to the crime of infidelity; and whereas it seems more eligible to encourage than compel such improvement in religion, morality, and civilization among such slaves, for the purposes aforesaid, and for other good purposes, be it therefore further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every owner and director of any slaves on any estate within the Leeward Islands, shall within

two months after the publication of this act, and also on the first day of January every year, convene and assemble together the slaves under his direction, and enquire which of them have a husband or wife, or more than one, and if an acknowledgment be made, in consequence of such enquiry, of more than one husband or wife, then such owner or director shall compel such slave making such acknowledgment, to elect some one slave only as his or her husband or wife; and when such election is made, such owner or director shall enter the same in a book to be kept for that purpose, and make the same as public as possible, by convening once in every twelve months all the slaves upon such plantation, and reading to them the same in a distinct and audible voice, at the same time extolling the good behaviour of those who have been faithful to their engagements, and reprobating the misconduct of those who have acted to the contrary, doing his utmost to keep together in harmony the parties who have made such election, and to encourage all the other slaves of which he is manager, master, or director, as they shall arrive at the age of maturity, to make such election as aforesaid, and adhere as strictly as possible to the same; and every owner or director of any female slave who shall have a child while she preserves her fidelity to such engagement as aforesaid, or is reputed so to do, shall in six weeks after the birth of such child, if the same be then living, pay and give to the mother of such child four dollars, and the same sum, with one dollar more, for every one child she shall bear and have under the same circumstances; and if any owner or director shall omit in any respect to comply with and fulfil the directions of this clause, he shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds for every such omission.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every owner or director shall give to every male and female slave who shall live together faithfully and peaceably as aforesaid as man and wife, one dollar each for every year that they shall so live together.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that as soon as any female slave shall have six children living, and who have been born during such cohabitation as aforesaid, the youngest of which shall be seven years of age, the owner or director of such female slave shall not oblige such female slave to do any other than light work, under the penalty of twenty pounds.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no owner or director of any slave, nor any overseer, nor any other description of white men on any plantation, shall weaken the effect of the exhortations and enquiries enjoined by this law, by his own irregular conduct in cohabiting or having criminal commerce with any female slave who shall have elected her husband as aforesaid; every such person, for every such offence, being thereof convicted by legal testimony before any two or more justices of the peace, shall forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred pounds.

And whereas it appears to be impracticable and ineffectual to endeavour to compel any slaves to adopt and conform themselves to any religious establishment, although they may be brought gradually to a considerable degree of religious knowledge by attention on the part of their owners and directors and the clergy; be it therefore further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in case any owner or director shall in any manner whatever restrain or prohibit, or cause to be restrained or prohibited any slave (excepting such whose services are necessary on a Sunday) under his or her direction, from receiving religious instruction by attending on Sunday at any church or chapel, or any other place of worship held by the regularly established clergy of any religious christian sect tolerated in the Leeward Islands, or by receiving baptism according to the rites of the regularly established church or other tolerated christian church, such owner or director, for every such offence, shall forfeit the sum of five pounds; and in case any regular clergyman who has any living in any of the Leeward Islands shall refuse or

neglect, when thereto reasonably required, to baptize any slave without fee or reward, on any Sunday immediately after divine service, such clergyman shall forfeit and pay for every such refusal and neglect the sum of thirty shillings; provided that such clergyman shall not be compelled so to do in case of the ignorance or ill character of such slave so requiring to be baptized, but that in all such cases such clergyman shall endeavour, by exhortation and instruction, to qualify such slave as he may so reject, to be thereafter baptized and received into the faith of Christ's church.

Owners or directors shall order sick slaves to be visited by a medical man, under penalty of five pounds. Medical man or proper white assistant shall be employed to visit each estate twice a week, whether called or not, unless he has a notice from proprietor that he is not wanted, under penalty of five pounds on the medical man failing in his duty. Medical man to attend within eight hours after he has heard of the call for him, under penalty of ten pounds. Proprietor shall have on his estate a commodious hospital with proper conveniences, and shall attend, in his own person, or by some one under his direction, as often as may be requisite, to see that every thing is provided, under penalty of one hundred pounds. Owners to keep on the estate a book, under penalty of forty shillings, in which the medical man shall, under the same penalty, enter his directions as the medicines and diet for the slaves, and shall enter his prescriptions at the end of his directions. Special calls to the medical man to be sent in writing in the book, with a statement of the case, under penalty of forty shillings. Medical man to keep on every estate under his care a small quantity of such medicines as may safely be trusted with unskilful persons, with directions for their use, under penalty of forty shillings. Every proprietor not a medical man himself, must employ by the year some medical gentleman properly qualified, provided he can procure one on reasonable terms, under penalty of ten shillings for each slave.

Proprietors, under penalty of one hundred pounds, on the first of January in each year, or at the first meeting of the council of assembly, to deliver in, on oath, a return of births and deaths, and the manner in which such slaves have been attended to. Proprietors removing before the time, to give in returns to the time of removal. Doctor or surgeon of each plantation to return an account of deaths, causes of deaths, under penalty of one hundred pounds. Female slaves five months gone with child to be employed only on light work, or taking care of children, and to be punished only by confinement, under penalty of five pounds. A roomy negro-house of two rooms to be built for every negro woman pregnant of her first child, and proprietor not to compel her, under penalty of twenty pounds, to lay in at the hospital for lying-in women. Where in a cargo of slaves the females shall not exceed the males, ten shillings to be paid for every male so imported, and fifty pounds for every infirm and aged negro slave imported after the expiration of two years from the publication of the act. Penalties to be recovered by warrant under the hands of two or more justices, and levied on goods. In default of goods, imprisonment for not more than six months, nor less than five days. Persons convicted may appeal to the next superior court of criminal jurisdiction.

Debts contracted for provisions to be paid, in case of mortgage, sale, &c. in preference to all debts, except those of the crown, provided such debts shall have been contracted within twelve months before action commenced for their recovery. Persons in distressed or embarrassed circumstances not to sell, give away, or exchange, any provisions or clothing specifically obtained for their slaves, and regularly entered in a book according to the directions given by this act, under penalty of five hundred pounds, or on non-payment, one year's imprisonment. Justices, on complaint of such embezzlement, may order the book of entries to be produced, and to examine witnesses on oath, and to bind over the presumed offender, in a recognizance of five hundred pounds to

appear in the proper court, and the same as to witnesses, and the production of the book in court. Persons so accused of embezzlement, and not proving that provisions and clothing were obtained on their own credit, and not under the provisions of this act, shall be held to have violated the act. Declarations in any suit, for clothing and provisions obtained under this act, not to mention any other cause of action than the delivery of the provisions and clothing, and juries not to find greater damages than the value; nor shall any damage be found unless a particular account be given of the quantities furnished, and the price, and unless the proper memorandum have been made in the book. Entry of verdict to specify that it is under this act. Slaves belonging to the persons so obtaining provision and clothing to be bound for the same. Judgments recovered against executors for money due for negro clothing and provision, to be satisfied in preference to all others but debts to the crown. Doubts relative to any part of the act, to be construed most favourably for its execution. Treble costs to persons prosecuted for enforcing this act. Not to be construed to hinder the legislature of any of the Leeward Islands from passing laws relative to slaves. Penalties to be recovered by indictment or information, and paid into the treasury.

An Act for regulating the manumission of slaves.—[*19th July*, 1802.]

Proprietors desirous of manumitting must apply to the president of the council and speaker of the assembly by petition, and obtain their consent to lodge five hundred pounds in the public treasury. Manumissions void unless recorded within thirty days. Five hundred pounds to be paid into the treasury for a native slave or two year's resident, and one thousand pounds for others, if the permission be not obtained. Secretary or register not to record manumission without the treasurer's receipt, under penalty of paying the sum. No negro to be manumitted by will without a bequest of five

hundred pounds, to be paid into the treasury within six months. Executors may apply for the consent of the legislature, which, if obtained, the slave shall be free without payment of five hundred pounds. On proprietor's dispensing with the future service of a slave, a justice may order the provost marshal to sell him to the highest bidder, and the purchase money shall be paid into the treasury.

An Act to explain and render more effectual an act, intituled "An Act to restrain thefts committed by negroes and other slaves, and to prevent the dishonest traffic carried on by such as deal with them —[10*th June*, 1808.]

Supervisors authorized to keep any property which they may seize upon any delinquent, unless it exceed the value of five pounds, or shall have been stolen from a slave. Supervisors to take offenders to the common cage, and as soon as possible before a magistrate. Supervisors directed to be particularly vigilant; to receive a dollar for the apprehension of each offender. Ten pounds penalty on failure of duty.

SAINT VINCENT.

An Act to punish those who shall murder or maim slaves in the Island of Saint Vincent and its dependencies —[23*d September*, 1801.]

Maliciously killing slave deemed murder. Maliciously wounding a slave, a misdemeanor.

Offenders to be punished by fine, imprisonment, or capital punishment, and be liable to civil actions. Fines vested in his Majesty for the public.

An Act to oblige proprietors and possessors of slaves in their own right, or rights of others, managers and conductors of estates, to give in returns of runaways, and punishing obeah men —[10*th August*, 1803.]

Returns to be made of runaways. Justice of peace obliged to receive returns and deliver them to provost marshal. Penalty in cases of repeal or neglect to be fifty pounds.

Statement of possessors of slaves to be furnished by provost marshal. Punishment for the harbouring of runaways by any coloured free person, to be twice standing in the pillory two hours each time. White person may clear himself on oath, and so doing, the accuser shall be punished by a moderate whipping. In case of runaways discovered on estates, proprietor to be summoned, and examined on oath, and to be subject to the penalties on refusing to appear or to answer.

Obeah practices to be punished by whipping, or if death have ensued, to be punished by death.

An Act to appoint commissioners for the purpose of obtaining an exact account of the number of the coloured free people, and number of negroes within this government and its dependencies.—[*9th January*, 1805]

Commissioners for taking account of negroes are to summon proprietors, &c. to make a return of negroes, specifying age, sex, &c. &c. &c. Persons neglecting or refusing to comply, to forfeit twenty pounds for every five days neglect. Same with neglect to free blacks and coloured, who must appear, under penalty of five pounds, and fifteen days imprisonment. Free black and coloured persons who have not been served with a notice, shall, nevertheless, appear within fifteen days after the publication of the act, and answer all questions.

Security for good behaviour to be given. Commissioners appointed, who are to make returns to the house of assembly; like returns to be made every year. Fines to be paid into the treasury.

An Act to revive an act, intituled, "An Act to appoint commissioners for the purpose of obtaining an exact account of the numbers of negroes in this government and its dependencies."—[*4th September*, 1811.]

An Act to explain and amend an act, intituled, "An Act for making slaves real estate, and the better government of slaves and free negroes."—[*19th June*, 1813.]

Any slave feloniously taking goods or money to the value of twenty shillings from any other person, or stealing in a house to the amount of six pounds, guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. Slave setting fire to any dwelling guilty of felony.

Slaves guilty of crimes which affect their lives to be tried as free persons in the court of session. Court to appoint counsel; and in cases of conviction, owner to be paid the fees upon prosecution of slaves in the court of sessions, to be paid by the prosecutor if the prosecution be adjudged frivolous, or by the owner if he have endeavoured to obstruct the course of justice against the slave. Larcenous thefts, and other offences not affecting the life of a slave, to be tried and punished accordingly by two justices.

Manumission registered in other colonies to be held valid. Punishment of proprietors maltreating their slaves shall be fine or imprisonment or both. The court may dispose of such slaves, if they see fit; and order the proceeds to be paid to the owner, or otherwise. Persons maltreating slaves not their property, punished by this act; and liable, moreover, to prosecution at civil law. Justices to take cognizance of complaints respecting cruelty exercised upon any slaves; and to provide a place of security for them, when in particular cases they shall think it necessary. Provided, that every thing in this act contained do first receive the approbation of his Majesty.

An Act to repeal the fourth clause of an act, intituled, 'An Act to explain and amend an act, intituled, 'An Act for making slaves real estate, and the better government of slaves and free negroes,' and to amend and re-enact the same."—[*20th March*, 1815.]

Slaves to be tried as white persons, save that slave evidence shall be admissible. Court to appoint counsel for the prisoner. If slave found guilty, owner to be paid the value. Slave guilty of perjury, liable to same punishment as free person.

A Bill for establishing a registry of negro and other slaves, in the Island of Saint Vincent and its dependencies.—[*18th March*, 1817.]

A public registry to be established for the registration of all negro and other slaves, to be registered or returned for registration on or before the . Registry books to be provided for the purpose of the registry. On or before the day of all persons in possession of slaves to return lists or schedules thereof upon oath to the secretary of these islands within a limited time, with the names, description, and other particulars, of the parties making such returns. The schedules to describe the names, colours, employment, age and country of each slave, according to a formula prefixed to each list. The returns to be delivered to the secretary or his deputy on oath. The returns to be registered within a limited time in the books of registry, exactly according to the returns. No erasures to be permitted in the registry books. Office copies of the registered lists or returns to be delivered to the owners.

When all the returns are registered, notice thereof to be given, and the means of supplying omissions within a limited time to be therein specified. Governor may direct returns to be received and registered after the limited time, in cases of accident or unavoidable impediment, and not from wilful default. The primary or original registration of slaves to be

authenticated and closed at the end of a certain period, and certified on affidavit by the secretary.

After the expiration of three years from the completion of the original registry, and after each succeeding period of years, returns to be delivered, containing an account of all births and deaths of slaves since the preceding returns; with an account of all deductions from, or additions to, the former stock of slaves by other means. Such last-mentioned return to be delivered on oath. Persons omitting to register slaves to forfeit pounds for each slave unregistered; one moiety to his Majesty, and the other to the informer. If the party so offending be the mortgagee, or be acting in any other capacity, to be subject to the same penalty, and liable to the civil suit of the party aggrieved, and to the payment of double costs. Omission of returns from accident or unavoidable impediment, or default of persons not the absolute owners, to be supplied on applying to the governor, stating the facts of the case.

If returns be wilfully refused for registration by the secretary, or if he make any fraudulent entries or erasures, he shall upon conviction forfeit his office, be subject to the pains and penalties of forgery, and be liable to an action for damages by all parties aggrieved. Penalties for such offences by other persons, according to the law against forms of records. Deputies, &c. to be subject to the like penalties, and forfeit their office. All other persons so offending to be subject to like pains and penalties, and forfeit to his Majesty all such slaves as shall be the subject of such fraudulent entry. Any person falsely returning as slaves persons not belonging to him, except runaway slaves, as hereinafter mentioned, to forfeit for each slave pounds. Proviso, that such penalty shall not extend to cases of slaves actually employed on the plantation, or in the service of the owner named in the return, except when proved that the return was fraudulently or wilfully false. Nor to slaves who have absconded from their owners, &c. so as such owners, &c

specify them in the affidavit on making returns, and also set forth the best description of such negroes they can furnish, with a statement of facts which prevent them from complying with the obligations of the act.

The certificate of the secretary to be evidence. Secretary to be entitled to certain fees.

After closing original registry on party claiming title to slaves, as owner, &c. complaining of such slaves being omitted to be registered, governor to appoint receiver of unregistered slaves, receiver giving security to return lists thereof.

Governor to take prompt measures for the execution of his order. Magistrates and others to be aiding therein under penalty of pounds. Receiver on taking possession to return lists of slaves to the governor to be registered, subject to a penalty for each slave omitted. After any slave not duly registered to be forfeited to his Majesty. Government to make order for safe custody, &c. of negroes until final judgment.

Bounty per head pounds to the informer for every able-bodied slave not above years old, who has not been duly registered, and has been condemned in consequence. Persons herein swearing falsely guilty of perjury. Negroes and coloured persons coming from other islands to produce a freedom, or deemed runaways.

TOBAGO.

An Act for the good order and government of slaves, and for repealing an act of this island, intituled, "An Act for the good order and government of slaves, and for keeping them under proper restraint; for establishing the method of trial in capital cases, and other regulations for the greater security of that part of the inhabitants property.—[Revived, 15th March 1794.]

Any slave maiming, &c. or attempting to maim, &c. a

white person, shall suffer death, transportation, or other punishment. Any slave who shall insult, &c. a white person, shall be whipped. Compassing the death of a white person shall suffer death, transportation or other punishment. Any slave murdering, maiming, &c. any other slave, setting fire to canes, &c; giving poison; running off the island; stealing to the value of six pounds; maiming or destroying cattle; shall suffer death or arbitrary punishment. Slaves absenting themselves for a certain time shall suffer death, or arbitrary punishment. Proviso,—the slave must be a year in the island, or absent a certain time. Slaves of the age of sixteen absenting themselves in gangs for a limited time; greatest offender shall suffer death. Any slave knowing of a runaway, and harbouring and receiving such, shall suffer death or arbitrary punishment. White or free person harbouring and receiving shall forfeit twenty pounds for first offence, fifty pounds for second offence, one hundred pounds for third offence. If cannot pay fines to be imprisoned, first offence thirty days, second ditto three months, third ditto six months. Prosecution to be commenced within one month after offence of concealing, &c. Prosecution for running away to be commenced within three months after return.

No slave shall have in his custody or carry fire arms, unless in pursuit of runaways, or under the direction of a white man, without a ticket from his owner or manager. Any runaway carrying off fire arms, shall suffer death; if not absent for twenty four hours, shall be whipt. Any criminal slave shall be apprehended by a justice, and tried within ten days by two justices and three freeholders. Jury to take an oath to try justly. Testimony of slave to be admitted; if found guilty, shall receive sentence of death or other punishment. Justices to give notice of the sentence to the commander-in-chief. Proviso,—in case of an insurrection, the court to issue a warrant to the provost marshal, &c. who shall execute the sentence. If evidence not sufficient to condemn, shall receive corporal punishment. If owner will

not pay damages, criminal to be adjudged the property of the party.

If any justice or freeholder shall refuse or neglect to try any slave, he shall forfeit twenty pounds. Not reporting the sentence, shall forfeit ten pounds.

If any free person shall be convicted of carrying off, or attempting to carry off any slave, shall suffer death. If any proprietor shall bring back any slave whom he knew to be transported, such slave shall be forfeited, and sold for public uses. Purchasers to give bond to transport such slave within one month. No slave shall carry a cutlass or offensive weapon, except upon the occasions mentioned in this clause, without a ticket from his owner, under the penalty of being whipped. Any slave convicted of gaming, shall be whipped.

All slaves found off their owner's plantation without permission in writing, to be deemed runaways; any person may apprehend, and carry them to their owner. Apprehender to receive a dollar, if absent one day; thirty shillings if absent more than two days; and ninepence per mile. If owner not known, to be delivered to the provost marshal, who shall advertise them in the gazette. If no gazette, then at Scarborough, George Town, and Plymouth, for six weeks. If provost marshal fail so to do, shall forfeit five pounds. If slave so advertised, not claimed within six weeks, to be sold by outcry, and after deducting charges, price to be deposited in the hands of the treasurer of the island, to the use of the public until the owner shall appear. Provost marshal to render an account upon oath. Any slave taking up a runaway shall have the benefit of it; any person depriving a slave of such benefit to forfeit treble the value.

No person except provost marshal, shall keep runaways above ten days; nor shall he or any other person employ them, nor suffer those in custody to want proper food, &c. under the penalty of fifty pounds. And if any of them shall die for want of food, &c. the provost marshal to forfeit double the value to the owner. A surgeon to be called to the

slave dangerously ill, to be paid by the owner. Persons claiming slaves to swear to the property. Marshal to keep runaways till paid for taking them up, with two shillings and sixpence per pound for laying out the money, and one shilling and sixpence for every twenty-four hours the slave hath been in custody. Marshal to forfeit to the owner the value of the slaves allowed to escape. Marshal disposing of slaves not having been six weeks in custody, to forfeit the value. Slaves to be sold by public outcry at Scarborough between the hours of ten and twelve.

Any person may destroy plantations deserted for six months.

Owners of plantations to have one acre of ground in provisions for every five slaves under the penalty of ten pounds for every acre wanting. Justices at the quarter sessions in January and July to direct two freeholders to inspect the provision ground, and to inspect upon oath the sufficiency or insufficiency thereof. The justices, upon report of the ground being insufficient, to issue a precept to a constable to summon the proprietor to appear at the next quarter sessions, to shew cause why the penalty of ten pounds should not be levied; and failing to appear, or appearing not shewing sufficient cause of excuse, the penalty to be adjudged to the treasurer for the public uses of the island, to be levied on the goods of such proprietor. Proprietors of plantations not cleared for two years, neglecting to feed their negroes properly, to forfeit ten shillings for every slave on the plantation, to the use of his Majesty.

Slaves to have clothing once a year, under the penalty of thirty shillings for every slave unclothed.

Persons wickedly killing negroes to be adjudged guilty of murder, and suffer death according to the laws of England, forfeiture of lands and chattels only excepted. Slaves deserving punishment may be chained and moderately whipped; but not to be tortured, mutilated, or punished with cruelty. Persons killing slaves stealing or running away,

and by night, out of their owner's ground, and refusing to submit, shall not be liable to fine or prosecution. Slaves killed running away, &c. to be paid for out of the public treasury. One slave killing another, the price paid by the public on executing the murderer, to be equally divided between the owners of the murderer and murdered. Slaves committing capital offences, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as the justices and freeholders shall think fit. When only one, or less than the whole of the criminals shall suffer death, the rest to be returned to the owners, after receiving corporal punishment; the owners of the slaves so returned, shall bear a proportional share of the loss of the slaves put to death; and the owners of those put to death and returned, to pay proportionally the damage done by the criminals, not exceeding the value of the slaves executed.

Owners concealing negroes guilty of felony, (running away excepted) and neglecting to prosecute for six weeks after notice of the crime, shall be debarred from receiving any consideration for the slave so convicted; and the price allowed by the public shall be paid to the informer. Any person sending off the island any slave belonging to him who hath killed another slave, shall pay the price of the slave killed.

Any free person who shall sell, or give to a slave fire arms, to forfeit a sum not exceeding fifty pounds for each offence; and refusing to pay, to be levied on his goods. The goods so to be levied on to be sold by outcry. Marshal to retain five per cent. on the monies forfeited with all expenses. And for want of distress, the body of the party offending to be attached, and committed to gaol till the same shall be paid.

Any free person selling spirituous liquors to any slave, without permission of the owner, to forfeit a sum not less than ten pounds nor exceeding fifty pounds, one half to the informer, and the other to the public uses of the island. Proprietors permitting slaves to beat drums, or assemble for bad purposes, to forfeit ten pounds.

Proprietors in the first week of January, April, July, and October, in every year, to give in upon oath, a list of the names and descriptions of their runaway slaves, under the penalty of five pounds for each neglect. The justice to return such lists within fourteen days to the register's office, to be entered in a book to be kept for that purpose, by the register, who shall be entitled to ninepence per head for each runaway negro so entered, to be paid out of the public treasury.

No person to permit slaves to hire out themselves, nor shall hire any slaves but from their masters, under the penalty of ten pounds. Mulattos hawking any goods, shall forfeit them, and be further punished as the magistrate shall think fit. Proviso,—that the same shall not prohibit the selling of provisions, &c.

Justices to do their duty when martial law shall be in force. Justices at their sessions in October in every year, to limit the number of holidays to be given to slaves at Christmas. The provost marshal, his deputy, or constables, refusing to do their duty, to forfeit twenty pounds for each offence.

Penalties to be applied one half to the king, one half to informer. Actions must be brought within twelve months. Treble costs to defendants sued for executing this act.

An act of the 8 Geo. III. for the good government of slaves, &c. repealed.

An Act for establishing regulations respecting slaves arriving in this island, or resident therein, except such as are imported direct from the coast of Africa.—[Passed 31st May, 1794; revived 12th October, 1799.]

Every master of a vessel to declare at the custom-house on his arrival, the number and particular description of any slaves he may have on board, under penalty of thirty-three pounds. Such slaves not to be landed without permission in writing from the governor or commander-in-chief. Slaves

landed without permission, to be forfeited. Slaves landed without permission, to be taken up and sold by the provost marshal. Slaves resident now in the island shewing any spirit for promoting seditious principles, to be tried, and if condemned to death, may be sold and transported. Slaves convicted on information of their masters to be appraised, and the value paid to their masters. This act to continue in force three years.

An Act to prevent more effectually slaves absenting themselves from the service of their masters, owners, or renters.—[*6th November*, 1807.]

Slaves, above the number of two, absenting themselves without leave, or running away, the ringleaders or greatest offenders shall suffer death, or other punishment.

An Act to amend an act, intituled, "An Act to prevent the clandestine departure of persons from the island.—[*29th April*, 1814.]

Every person underwriting another whose name is set up in the secretary's office, shall, previously to underwriting, make a positive affidavit of the debt due to him by the person he is about to underwrite, before one of the justices of the court of common pleas, and lodge the same in the secretary's office: and without such affidavit, no underwriting shall prevent the secretary from issuing a ticket to a person setting up his name. The secretary of the island shall publish in the gazette every week, the names of persons putting up their names to depart the island; and shall publish the date of his issuing tickets, whether taken out by complying with the setting up of the name for fourteen days, or upon giving security; provided that it shall not be necessary to publish any name more than once.

An Act to compel persons manumitting in this island, to provide for their support, and to restrict manumission of slaves belonging to other islands.—[19*th October*, 1814.]

No manumission shall be deemed valid unless the public treasurer's receipt be indorsed upon it for one hundred pounds. Every such manumission to be recorded in the secretaries office. Every person having such manumission, entitled to eight pounds per annum during natural life. At decease, sum paid shall remain for public uses of the colony. No manumission under last will and testament to take effect, until one hundred pounds is paid into the treasury. Person so manumitted, and receipt duly recorded, entitled to same dividend as ordered in former clause. Manumission of slave or slaves belonging to other islands, shall be proved or recorded without receipt required being indorsed thereon.—Secretary not to record manumission without receipt, under penalty of one hundred pounds. No dividend payable upon sums paid into treasury for manumission of slaves belonging to other islands; but sums so paid, shall be applicable immediately to public uses of the colony.

An Act to establish a public registry of all slaves in the colony of Tobago.—[23*d January*, 1817.]

Public registry of slaves established in this island. Registrar appointed, who is to be on oath. Treasurer's office to be the office of registry. Register books to be provided at public expense. All persons in possession of slaves to return lists or schedules thereof upon oath to the registrar within a limited time, with their names, descriptions, and other particulars. The returns to be personally delivered by the persons making the same to the registrar. The return to be registered within a limited time. Returns or schedules to be entered in the books of registry in a prescribed manner and form.

When the books are filled, new books to be opened, and paged in continuation. Indexes of plantations or owners

names to be prefixed to each book. No erasure to be permitted in the books of registry. Office copies of the registered lists or returns to be delivered to the owners. Governor may direct to be received and registered after the limited time in certain cases. The primary or original registration of slaves to be authenticated and closed with the affidavit of the registration. Duplicate books of the original entry to be prepared and transmitted to England.

Annual returns of slaves to be hereafter made.

Annual returns to be delivered on oath, according to a form. The former register of slaves to be corrected, enlarged, and continued, according to the annual returns. Annual returns to be registered according to a given manner. At the end of the registration of each annual return, the whole number of slaves then belonging to each plantation or owner be summed up and entered. On proving that returns have not been wilfully omitted, the governor may allow of the return being received. General accounts or abstracts of all annual returns to be made out by the registrar and authenticated on oath, and transmitted to England. If returns unduly received, or refused for registration by the registrar, parties aggrieved may appeal to the governor, and from him to the king in council, giving security.

Penalties on the registrar for making or permitting any false or fraudulent entries in the books of registry, and for fraudulent erasures, the same as on forgers of public records. Penalties for falsely returning as slaves persons not belonging to the plantation or owner to be one hundred pounds.

Penalties on persons wilfully neglecting to make original or annual returns to be one hundred pounds.

When slaves become entitled to the provisions of the abolition act, by the wilful default of any person, the defaulter to be liable in damages to the party prejudiced. Penalties on persons holding any negro, &c. in slavery, by means of any false returns, to be two hundred pounds. Negroes and people of colour to present themselves before

the governor, a member of council, or registrar of slaves, within ten days after their arrival, and produce certificate, &c. of freedom, or be liable to be ordered to depart this colony. The certificate of the registrar to be evidence of the registration of slaves. After the closing of the original registry, no estate or property in slaves to be created or transferred unless they shall have been duly registered. Provided always, that no deed or instrument shall be avoided by reason of any clerical error, &c. in the name or description of slaves. Nothing herein to avoid or impeach any will, &c. for want of the registered names and description of slaves. Returns made under this act to supersede the necessity of all annual returns of slaves now required to be made under the Road Bill, Deficiency Bill, or Annual Money Bill.

Registrar's salary to be five hundred pounds for the first year, and four hundred pounds for each subsequent year; with certain fees.

Perjury committed in any manner relating to this act, to be punished as in cases of wilful perjury at common law.

Nothing contained in this act to be construed to abridge the rights and privileges granted to this island by former proclamations, treaties, and acts. This act to be printed, and distributed by the governor, president of the council, speaker of the assembly, and registrar of slaves.

This act to be deemed a public act, and taken notice of as such.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE MUSQUITO SHORE.

Drawn up for the Use of Government in 1773.

HAVING the honour of a seat in his Majesty's council of this island, it has lately fallen to my lot to be nominated in a committee appointed to inquire into the rise of some disturbances and disputes among the British inhabitants on the Musquito shore. In this capacity many letters and papers of importance have been submitted to my inspection, and sundry examinations of persons taken before me; from whence, and some other very authentic and well selected information, communicated to me by some intelligent friends who resided many years on the spot,* I have stated the following particulars, which, I trust, not only prove, beyond all contradiction, the right of the British crown to the sovereignty of this delightful and most valuable country, but also show, that such advantages will naturally result to our revenues, com-

* For the description which follows of the country, and its native inhabitants, I am principally indebted to the Rev. Mr. W*****, who resided some years on the Musquito shore, and which I give chiefly in his own words, because I cannot hope to add perspicuity or force to his very satisfactory and elegant account.

merce, and navigation, from its further settlement and improvement; such easy channels be opened, from our possession of it, of attacking the Spanish dominions in time of war, and such grateful returns be made to the private adventurer for whatever sums may be expended in its cultivation, as well deserve the most serious attention of government. Lest, however, it should be supposed, that my duty, as one of his Majesty's council requires me to suppress every information which I have received on this occasion, I think it necessary to premise, that I have stated no one fact or circumstance, but what is of public concern to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and of common notoriety on the Musquito shore. But, though I have strictly observed this rule, throughout the whole of this paper, I think myself, at the same time, free to declare, that neither in my capacity abovementioned, nor otherwise, have I yet met with any information, reasoning, or occurrence, whatever, which either ought to, or can, in the smallest degree, invalidate or weaken the account which I am about to give.

With this plea I proceed:—and, first, in regard to the right which Great Britain has to the dominion of this country, the following facts appear to me to be clear and incontrovertible; namely, that the native Indians of this country have never been conquered by, nor did they ever submit to, the Spanish government;—that the Spaniards had never any settlement among them;—that, during the course of upwards of one hundred years, they have maintained a strict and uninterrupted alliance and friendship with the subjects of Great Britain:—that they have made a free and formal cession of the dominion of their country to his Majesty's predecessors, acknowledging the king of Great Britain for their sovereign, before the American treaty concluded at Madrid in 1670:—that this cession of the Indians to the British crown was accepted on behalf of the king of Great Britain, has been frequently and very formally repeated by the natives;—and finally, that this accumulation of

British right was not impaired by the last treaty of peace. These positions, I say, appear to me certain and indisputable.

The first two are admitted by the Spaniards themselves. In regard to the next, namely the alliance of the natives with the subjects and crown of Great Britain, and their submission to its government, previous to 1670; the following circumstances, which, I presume, may be abundantly confirmed by original papers now in the plantation office, are recorded by Sir Hans Sloane, who was himself present in Jamaica, when the Musquito king, in person, applied to the Duke of Albemarle, governor of that island, in the reign of James the Second, to renew his allegiance, and to crave protection.

"The memorial and substance," says Sir Hans, "of what he (the Musquito king) and the people with him represented to the Duke of Albemarle, was, that in the reign of Charles the First, the Earl of Warwick, by virtue of letters of reprisal, possessed himself of several islands in the West Indies, particularly that of Providence (since called by the Spaniards St. Catalina), which is situated 13° 10′ N. lat. lying east from Cape Gracias-a-Dios (vulgarly known by the name of the Musquitos) between thirty and forty leagues; which put the said earl upon all ways and means of future correspondence with the natives of the said cape and neighbouring country; and, in some little time, he was so successful as to gain that point, and prevailed with them so far as to persuade them to send home the king's son, leaving one of his people as hostage for him, which was Colonel Morris, now living at New York. The Indian prince going home with the said earl, staid in England three years, in which time the Indian king died, and the natives having in that time intercourse and commerce with those of Providence were soon made sensible of the grandeur of his Majesty of Great Britain, and how necessary his protection was to them; upon the return of the said Indian prince, they persuaded him to resign up his authority and power over them, and with them una-

nimously declare themselves the subjects of his said Majesty of Great Britain; in which opinion," continues Sir Hans, "they have ever since persisted, and do own no other supreme command over them."—Hist. of Jamaica, 1st Edit. vol. i. p. 76.)

In the month of June, 1670, the famous American treaty was signed at Madrid, of which the 7th article stands as follows:

"The king of Great Britain, his heirs, and successors, shall have, hold, and possess, for ever, with full right of sovereign dominion, property, and possession, all lands, countries, islands, colonies, and dominions, whatever, situated in the West Indies, *or in any part of America*, which the said king of Great Britain, and his subjects, do at this present hold and possess; so that in regard thereof, or upon any colour or pretence whatever, nothing may, or ought, ever to be urged, nor any question or controversy moved, concerning the same, hereafter." Let us now refer to the last treaty of peace, of which the 17th article is as follows: "His Britannic Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected *in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain*, in that part of the world, within four months after the ratification of the treaty," &c.

From ignorance, as it would seem, that the first of these articles ever existed, or from some most unaccountable misapprehension and misconstruction of the second, has solely arisen any doubt of his Majesty's just right to the sovereignty of this country; for, it must be remembered, that the Musquito shore is no part of the Bay of Honduras, nor was it ever esteemed as such by the Spaniards themselves, as plainly appears by every chart of this coast in use among them. The bay or gulf of Honduras extends from Cape Catoche, in N. lat. 21° 0′ W. lon. 86° 20′ (reckoning from London), to Cape Honduras, in lat. N. 16° and W. lon. 85° 55′. From Cape Honduras to the northern branch or mouth of the Lake

Nicaragua, commonly called St. John's River, in lat. about 10° 25', lies the sea coast of the country commonly called the Musquito shore; a country on which the Spaniards never had any footing, claim of occupancy, or possession, from the beginning of the world to this day. If they had, they relinquished it by the first of the foregoing articles; for the native Indians of this country, who had happily preserved their freedom and independency, amidst the general carnage and desolation which the Spaniards had spread over the territories around them, had already applied for and obtained the British protection; acknowledging the king of England for their sovereign, as we have already shown; so, that in fact, they were included in the very words of the above article, being at that time, to all intents and purposes, subjects of the British crown. This, their submission to the sovereignty of Great Britain, was not only most solemnly renewed, by the Musquito king in person, to the Duke of Albemarle, when governor of Jamaica, as before stated, but it is a fact, not to be denied, that they have made it a point to give, to almost every succeeding governor, fresh assurances of their allegiance; in consequence of which, Great Britain did, for upwards of a century, afford them protection; and has for many years constantly distributed annual presents among their native chieftains. In the year 1741, a regular establishment of troops, under the command of a superintendant, was fixed there; and an administration of justice, by magistrates and courts of quarter session, was constituted in 1744, which continued to subsist under the auspices of government, till the last peace, when the troops and military stores were removed, and orders given to dismount the guns, and dismantle the fortifications which our people had built, for the protection of themselves and their faithful friendly allies, the native Indians, who were now to be exposed to the implacable resentment of a power from which they had every thing to dread, and by which, but for our protection, they had long ago been exterminated. These unpolitic

orders were evidently grounded on a most unaccountable notion that the Musquito shore was part of the Bay of Honduras; an astonishing instance of inattention, to call it by no harsher name. As it is no part of the Bay of Honduras, so neither is it any part "of the territory of Spain in that part of the world;" for admitting the Spanish claim of prediscovery of the whole of this coast, aided as it was by the benevolent grant of Pope Alexander the Sixth, and admitting even (which I have shown is not the case) that the subjects of England had no intercourse with the country previous to the conclusion of the American treaty in 1670, will it be pretended, in a nation so enlightened as ours, that circumstances of this kind are sufficient to justify the pretensions of the Spanish crown to enslave a free people, who, if not the subjects of Great Britain, are, by the laws of God and the unerring dictates of human nature, free at this day, to yield allegiance to what power they please?

Having thus briefly shown, that the right of Great Britain to the sovereign dominion of this country is founded on the best of all titles, namely, the unrestrained and spontaneous consent of its free and ancient inhabitants, I shall now give the best account I am able of the country itself.

The sea coast, as before described, extends from Cape Honduras to the northern branch of the Nicaragua or St. John's river, a space of one hundred and eighty leagues; and if the distant mountains, which bound the Spanish territories behind, be considered as the inland line, Great Britain possesses an extent of country here, more than half as large as the kingdom of Portugal.

Of the present British settlements, the three principal are Black River, about twenty-six leagues, nearly east, from Cape Honduras; Cape Gracias-a-Dios in lat. 14° 54', about fifty-four leagues, nearly E. S. E. from Black River; and Blewfields, about seventy leagues, nearly south, from Cape Gracias-a-Dios.

From Blewfields to Black River the country is generally

flat for many miles from the sea coast; but it rises into hills much sooner to the westward of Black River, and to the southward of Blewfields.

Every variety of animal and vegetable nature, for use or beauty, for food or luxury, has been most liberally bestowed on this country. It is every where plentifully watered, and the soil is almost every where fertile in a very uncommon degree, and capable of producing, in the utmost perfection, whatever is produced between the tropics. The cotton bush, the cocoa or chocolate-nut, and venelloes, flourish spontaneously all over the country. Indigo, too, is a native, and appears to be of the same sort with that of the neighbouring province of Guatimala, which is accounted the best of any. The sugar-cane arrives here to as great perfection as in any of the islands; and the quantity of mahogany and sarsaparilla, annually exported from hence to Great Britain, renders the settlement already an object of no small importance in the scale of her commerce and navigation. The rivers and coasts abound with excellent fish; and the finest turtle, both for food and shell, is found here in greater plenty than in any part of the known world. To which it may be added, and it is a circumstance of no small utility in an infant settlement, that the mouths of many of the principal rivers produce a prodigious quantity of oysters, both of the mangrove and flat species; of the latter sort, there are banks that appear inexhaustible; so that with respect to food, the inhabitants of this country seem almost to be exempted from the general curse entailed on our first parents.

In 1770 there were, exclusive of the natives, about fourteen hundred inhabitants, subjects of Great Britain, of whom two hundred and six were whites, about as many more of mixed blood, and about nine hundred slaves. Of these, one hundred and thirty-six whites, one hundred and twelve mixtures, and about six hundred slaves, were at or within a few miles of the Black River; which, however, is, in almost every view, one of the most ineligible situations for a capital;

and, indeed, it became the first settlement chiefly on account of what causes this ineligibility: its nearness to one extremity of the shore, and there being only about six feet water on its bar, having rendered this river the readiest and safest retreat for our logwood cutters, who were driven from the Bay of Honduras in 1730.

Blewfields has very greatly the advantage over Black River in several respects, and bids fair to become a place of importance. There is generally twelve or thirteen feet water at the entrance of the harbour. The Bluff, an extensive rocky eminence, of very easy defence, has naturally almost every requisite for a town, and presents so bold a bank to the harbour, that vessels of any burden may lie close to it when they load; and several noble rivers, after having watered some of the richest land, perhaps, in the world, empty themselves in the vast lagoon of which this harbour is part. But it is full of worms, and much too far to the southward.

The harbour of Cape Gracias-a-Dios is formed by an arm of the sea, large enough to hold the navy of Great Britain, and open only from E. by S. to S. S. W. from which points the wind seldom blows there. The inhabitants live on the edge of a very large savanna, perpetually covered with the most fattening pasturage, and bounding on the river Wanks,* which arises very near the South Sea, and after successively passing the Spaniards, Indians friendly to the Spaniards, Indians friendly to us, and Musquito Indians, rolls over a shallow bar into the sea at this cape.

The strength of current, and various course of this river, and many other obstructions to measurement of distance, make it very difficult to ascertain the breadth of the continent; but mules have been brought down to the cape, from a place supposed to be considerably more than a hundred

* Or Vankes; called also Yare, and Yowra, and Cape river, and said to be full of falls. The Black river of the text is the Rio Tinto of the Spaniards. The Boca del Toro, and Chiriqui Lagoon, subsequently mentioned, are not to be found in the ordinary English maps.—E.

leagues up the river, from whence it is said to be only two days' ride through the woods to the Spanish city of Leon.

There are several small settlements between this cape and Blewfields, and one still further to the southward.

The Musquito Indians, properly so called, and who have been so justly remarkable for their fixed hereditary hatred of the Spaniards, and attachment to us, were formerly very numerous, but they were much reduced some years ago by the small pox. Their present number is from seven to ten thousand fighting men, formed into different tribes, both by nature and policy; by nature, from the general distinction of pure Indians and Samboes; by policy, as living and acting under several chieftains, called king, governor, general, and admiral, each of whom has a different territory, and nearly independent jurisdiction, though the king has an imperfectly defined supremacy both in power and dominion.

The general's people are Samboes, and stretch from Black River to near Cape Gracias-a-Dios. The king's chief residence is about twelve leagues south of the cape, his people are also Samboes, and his immediate precinct reaches to the cape, and runs far up the country. The governor's precinct joins to the king's, and extends between twenty and thirty leagues to the southward, till it meets the admiral's. The people under these chieftains are pure Indians.

The Samboes are supposed to derive their origin from a Guinea ship, which, it is said, was wrecked on the coast above a century ago. Certain it is, that their hair, complexion, features, and make, clearly prove an African ancestry; from whom they have also inherited some of the worst characteristics of the worst African mind; for they are generally false, designing, treacherous, knavish, impudent, and revengeful.

The pure Indians are so called, because they are free from any mixture of negro blood; and their general conduct gives a very favourable idea of Indian nature. They are seldom guilty of positive evil, and often rise to positive good, when positive good does not require much exertion of mind.

Their modesty, docility, good faith, disposition to friendship and gratitude, ought to engage equally our regard and protection; for the same virtues that render them amiable, will be likely to bring on their destruction from the enterprising ambition of the Samboes.

The proper management of those heterogeneous people, watching over, guiding, and tempering the Sambo restlessness, and giving encouragement and activity to the inoffensive, but indolent disposition of the pure Indians, seem to be some of the most important objects of our policy.

The British settlers have hitherto been employed chiefly in cutting mahogany, digging sarsaparilla, getting tortoise-shell, and purchasing skins of the Indians, of which the far greater part has been shipped to England in British vessels. The exports in 1769 were about 800,000 superficial feet of mahogany, 200,000 lbs. of sarsaparilla, and 10,000 lbs. of tortoise-shell. There is also a small trade with the bordering Spaniards, and a few mules are occasionally sent to Jamaica.

But a little encouragement would soon rouse a more extensive and liberal spirit; the spirit of cultivation, which, even in the present state of the colony, has begun to exert itself with the fairest appearance of success; a little industry would soon discover an almost inexhaustible variety of woods, gums, and dyes, and the country abounds in very valuable ship-timber.

Much, however, remains still to be done, before much benefit can be derived, either to the colony or to the mother country, from what has been done already. Of the motives which have hitherto prevented the British ministry from giving form and permanency to the settlement, and affording it that open countenance and full support under which it would certainly and rapidly rise to a place of the first importance, it becomes me, perhaps, to pronounce with caution; but, I hope, I shall not offend in observing, that the dubious and unavowed plan of conduct with which government has conducted itself, in regard to this colony, ever since the con-

clusion of the last peace, neither tends to its speedy increase, nor much redounds to the honour and dignity of a great and powerful nation. Either the native Indians have purchased our protection by the cession of their country, and an uninterrupted allegiance of upwards of a century, or they have not. If they have, and the contract was reciprocal; if the fullest protection and support was repeatedly promised them, on the part and by the authority of the British crown; if, in consequence thereof, they have hitherto received our people with open arms, have constantly encouraged and assisted them to the utmost of their power, always considering our enemies as theirs; if, by these means, they have incurred the implacable resentment, not only of the Spanish nation, but also of many powerful Indian tribes, in alliance with that crown, and entailed inevitable destruction on themselves and their children, in case we now desert them; and finally, if the many advantages above stated are likely to accrue to our commerce and navigation from the possession of this country; if these, I say, are facts notorious, (and no person I am persuaded, who has any knowledge of the subject, will attempt to prove the contrary,) it will, perhaps, be difficult to assign a reason which bears even the colour of plausibility, for the neglect and disregard which is now shown to these poor, friendless, and affectionate people, and to the interests of the British settlers among them, who, indeed, are now daily decreasing, and if the present system, with regard to them, is much longer pursued, must either quit the country or perish in the ruin that seems to await them.

Considered in every point of view, the desertion of this colony appears impolitic and extraordinary. The easy means of attacking the Spanish dominions in time of war, and even shaking her vast empire in South America to the foundation, by the way of the lake of Nicaragua, afford so mighty a prospect of conquest, wealth, and glory, to the British arms, that I cannot persuade myself government has ever been rightly informed in a circumstance of so great importance. I have

been assured, if I am not greatly deceived in my recollection, that a vessel of thirty tons has sailed up to the entrance of this lake, which very vessel afterwards made a voyage to Jamaica. From the interior boundary of the lake, to the nearest part of the South Sea coast, the distance does not exceed ten or twelve leagues, through a level country; it is true, indeed, the entrance into the river, from the harbour of St. John's, is somewhat obstructed by a bar, on which there are only five feet water; but the inconveniency resulting from hence may be cured surely, in a great measure, in case an armament is sent there, by constructing the transport vessels, for conveying troops up the lake, with flat bottoms. The harbour above-mentioned, called St. John's, is very capable of containing from ten to fifteen ships of war, with shallow water births of about three fathom; and there is room enough for one hundred sail of transports besides, which will lie perfectly secure from the north and south winds, the only dangerous winds on the coast.

The harbour of Cape Gracias-a-Dios has been mentioned already; but the finest harbour in all the continent, from Honduras to Porto Bello, is undoubtedly the Boca-del-Toro, a place not only capable of containing the whole navy of Great Britain, with good anchorage throughout, but which has within it many excellent harbours, sheltered from the wind at every point of the compass; it commands a tract of country one hundred miles in extent, and joins a lagoon, called the Chiriqui lagoon. The rivers that empty themselves into this lagoon are indeed little known to any people, except our Musquito Indians, who say they have traced some of them quite back to the Spanish settlements. They aver, that there is a lagoon on the South Sea coast, right opposite to the Chiriqui lagoon, and that these lagoons have a communication with each other, by means of some of the rivers above-mentioned: certain it is, than from a hill on the interior banks of the Chiriqui lagoon, there is a spacious prospect of both seas. The navigation into the harbour we

are now speaking of will be attended with no kind of difficulty to ships of the largest tonnage, the smallest depth being five fathom.

But the lake of Nicaragua, beyond all dispute, presents the most obvious and certain channel of attacking the Spaniards with success in the richest of their South American settlements; and for this reason alone, if for no other, it is an object of the greatest importance to Great Britain—I was going to add, *of more value than even the possession of Gibraltar itself.**

B. EDWARDS.

Jamaica, 10th Nov. 1773.

* The occasion of Governor Johnstone's laying the above Memorial before Parliament, was the seizure of the sloop Morning Star, (Alexander Blair and Dr. Charles Irving owners,) by two Spanish guarda-costas, at the settlement at Black river, 1776. Lords North and George Germaine were of opinion, that the act complained of was not a Spanish aggression, but an act of piracy committed by a privateer of the revolted British colonies.—*E.*

JAMAICA,

A DESCRIPTIVE AND DIDACTIC POEM,

BY THE LATE

BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS little Poem is imperfect in every sense of the word. It is presumed, however, that the subject of it is as happily adapted for descriptive and didactic poetry, as any that can be imagined. The magnificent scale whereon natural objects in this part of the globe are in general formed, the beauty and novelty of the scene, could not fail to supply an able artist with many new, striking, and picturesque images. These, and various collateral topics (among others, the first voyage and discoveries of Columbus—the subsequent conquests and cruelties of the Spaniards—the production of the soil, and method of cultivation—the slavery and superstitions of the African Negroes—the diseases of the climate—the great irregularities of nature, and the devastations which are sometimes occasioned by floods, hurricanes, and earthquakes), afford rich materials for a Poem, that might prove at once original, instructive, pathetic, and sublime.

Animated by this idea, the author, at a very early period of life, presumed to sketch out a West Indian Georgic, in four books, of which the lines now printed constituted the first; and he had nearly completed the second, when his maturer judgment led him to believe, that he had undertaken a task to which his abilities were not competent. If, however, by preserving and publishing what he thus admits to be imperfect, he shall incite some person of greater talent to adopt and complete the theme, he shall think that his labours have not been in vain

JAMAICA.

CONTENTS OF THE FIRST BOOK.

Subject proposed.—Invocation to the memory of a friend.—Address to Great Britain.—Mountainous face of the country.—The islands of the Atlantic ocean supposed to have been formerly parts of a great continent.—The advantages, which the islands in general have derived from the separation, pointed out and illustrated by a display of the inconveniences to which the inhabitants of South-America (under the torrid zone) are subject.—Jamaica in particular highly favoured in the fragrancy of its woods, the salubrity of its hills, and the abundance of its excellent springs.—Praise of the Agualta river.—A noon-tide scene on its banks.—Description of the morning at sun-rise on the sea coast.—Return to the mountains.—Their wonderful use in the torrid region as being the parents of springs and rivers.—A morning scene in the mountainous parts of the country.—Beautiful prospect of the plains and surrounding country, trees, &c.—Heat at noon, and its effects on the animal creation.—Evening, and sudden approach of night.—Land breeze.—Beauty of the Heavens.—Fire-flies.—Rising of the moon.—Invocation to the spirits of the ancient natives.—Their destruction by the Spaniards lamented, and speech of Incotel, one of the Indian chiefs, to the last sad remnant of his followers, which concludes the Book.

JAMAICA's beauteous isle and genial clime
I sing. Attend, ye Britons! nor disdain
Th' adventurous muse to verdant vales that soars,
And radiant realms, beyond th' Atlantic wave;
Ardent to gather for her Albion's brow
A tropic wreath, green with immortal spring.

Guide of my earliest youth—a seraph now
In Heaven—tho', there, far nobler themes employ

Thy rapturous hours! wilt thou, my TEALE* (as wont
Ere fate forbade) inspire my numbers? Thee,
Lov'd and lamented friend! I still invoke,
Whose magic verse with love of song first fir'd
My glowing bosom, and whose guardian hand,
In life's gay morn, from passion's devious maze
Oft turn'd my erring feet. Thy favourite groves
Once more I seek, and many a well-known haunt
Revisit, where the tender thought recals
Thy social converse, and approving smile,
That cheer'd in happier days the sultry clime,
And half suppress'd th' involuntary sigh
For distant Albion! Oh, propitious still,
Dear honour'd shade, (so pleas'd in life to stray
Down soft affection's path,) on angel wings
Descending, hover o'er my lonely walk,
And still, thro' life's perplexing labyrinth, lead
My wayward footsteps; nor sometimes forget
The muse, that now thy once-lov'd island sings:
By thee first taught, thy friendly voice still soothes
Her evening slumbers, prompts her matin song.

And thou, dear soil maternal! tho' from thee
Again I wander, from my glowing breast
Nor distant skies, nor intervening seas,
Shall rase thy lov'd idea—native clime
Of beauty, virtue, liberty, and law!
And when my beaten bark, returning, dares
Once more the rough Atlantic, and thy cliffs
(Old Ocean's boast) high o'er the dusk-green wave
Catch my full eyes, fond fancy pleas'd shall paint
Thy vallies doubly fertile, doubly bright
Thy hills: then shall th' accordant muse exult
With higher rapture, and with strengthen'd wing
Explore a loftier flight—thy praise her theme.

* The Reverend Isaac Teale, who died in Jamaica, 10th January, 1764.—E.

Meanwhile, ye torrid heavens, not undismay'd,
(The path untrod) nor with undazzled sight,
I seek your burning confines; where sublime
Yon wonderous mountains rise, whose shaggy sides
Invest th' ethereal azure, and whose brows
Th' eternal vapour shrouds! Great nature there
Reigns in dread majesty, and unshorn strength.
Ye hoary piles, ye heaven-aspiring cliffs!
Say, did th' Almighty Father bid upheave,
Thro' the torn bosom of th' astonish'd deep,
Your many-tower'd heights, what time his voice
Creative first inform'd th' inactive mass?
Or laid the Sovereign Architect alone
Your firm foundations in th' unfathom'd waves,
And saw your lofty peaks emerging rise
Slow and progressive? Ages thus (if thus
Th' Eternal plann'd) have roll'd away, nor seen
Your mighty infancy; and still perhaps
Shall long revolving ages roll, ere stops
Your giant growth! Oft 'midst your secret shades
(Conflicting thunders echoing deep below)
Musing I wander, and admiring trace
Old Ocean's abdicated empire there.
I see, in wonderous strata, deep and vast,
Extraneous forms, once subjects of the main,
The branching coral, and the pearly shell,
Left by the refluent waters, as the earth
From chaos rose; or when th' uplifted surge
Broke from his strong foundations, and o'erwhelm'd
The sons of men impenitent! Some deem
The mountains then, proud Teneriffe's giant Peak,
Atlas, and mightier Andes, first display'd
Their uncouth summits—fix'd in awful sign
Of wrath divine awak'd! that many a realm—
Seat of proud empire since—was but a wreck
Of the crush'd world, and even th' Atlantic isles

But splendid ruins; the dispers'd remains
Of some fair continent, wide-spreading once
From Apalachia's hills to Paria's gulf—
The same, perchance, of which Egyptus' lore
To godlike Solon told. But pitying Heaven,
Still merciful in anger, mark'd and spar'd
The scatter'd fragments; o'er them gracious threw
The robe of radiant beauty, and ordain'd
Sweet plenty crown their vales, and health their shores.

Ye happy islands, in the wonderous change
Rejoice! nor envy Mexico's proud realms,
Nor rich Potosi's ore, sad source of crimes
And seas of guiltless blood! Th' unhealthful mine
Useless and barren, 'till exchang'd its dross
For nobler products. Thousands, too, condemn'd
(Hard fate!) t'explore the latent metals, die
Inglorious. Even the ambient air is fraught
With poison: the poor slave, that has not seen,
For many a mournful year, the cheerful day,
Falls not alone: from earth's deep caverns rise
Foul baleful blasts, that scatter fate around:
While the dank wood, which never sun-beam pierc'd,
Boundless as ocean, as the Deluge old,
Blends the moist vapour, and infects the heavens.

Nor only the dank wood, and noxious mine,
Mark the wild wastes beneath the burning zone:
On Darien's marshy shores, and the rank plains
Of hot Guiana, to the sickening gale,
O'er many a savage solitary league,
The silent sullen pool malignant breathes
Putrid contagion. The proud lake that laves,
In fabulous lore, Dorado's golden wall,
Sleeps stagnate; or, by autumn's floods when swoln,
Spreads wider ruin; teeming monstrous births

And reptile tribes in myriads, without name,
Unclean and noisome. In the tainted breeze
Pale Death exults, and snuffs his prey afar!

Rejoice, ye beauteous isles! whose happier shores
Nor foul infection blots, nor births obscene
Dare enter. Thee, Jamaica, chiefly thee,
Be grateful ever. Fragrant are thy woods,
Thy hills salubrious, and thy valleys gay.
Tho' fierce the sun that gilds thy sultry plains,
Shades unpolluted, sweetly murmuring rills,
Are thine: from every hill exuberant flows
The bubbling fountain, whence thy fainting sons
Drink life and joy. Now, while the dazzling heaven
Pour on my aching brows their fires intense,
Waft me, ye winds, ye salutary gales,
To the cool margent of Agualta's * flood,
Whose deep delicious shades the noontide beam
Knows not to pierce! Where Leganez' blue hills
Aerial rise, in formidable state,
'Mid clouds and storms sublime, the parent god
Holds his imperial throne; there, joyful, see
The tributary vapours spread, and hears
Elate, as to his deep-ton'd voice accords
The deeper thunder. From his secret urn
A thousand rivulets stream; soft warbling some
Others precipitant, with louder tone,
Call the fix'd eye to where the vast cascade
Falls bright in awful beauty; 'till the god
His vagrant train unites, and to the vale
Pours fierce th' impetuous torrent. Gently now,
Pleas'd with the cool recess, the copious flood
Oft turns delighted, lingering as he rolls!

* A river so call'd, in the mountains of Jamaica.

And ever gently roll, sweet stream, as now
Soft murmuring; in thy crystal waters still
My languor solace, and affliction's sons
Drink sweet oblivion. Bathe your wearied limbs,
Ye Lybian maidens, unreproved, unaw'd:
(Nor sportive smiles, nor hovering loves, disdain
Your harmless revels.) While the yielding wave
Some clasp with circling arm, and buoyant float
The profluent eddy; others, bolder still,
Plunge in the blue profound, and pleas'd far off
Emerge exulting. In the jocund toil
They waste th' unconscious hours; forgot awhile—
Could slavery but forget—past cruel wrongs,
And dread of future woes. But soon (too soon!)
The sportive smiles, and hovering loves, are fled—
For now, the bank obtain'd (th' invidious term
Of sweet indulgence pass'd), afflictive thought,
And aching memory, and anxious dread,
Cloud each dejected brow. Soft Ebo * nymphs
Awake the plaintive lay; their own sad fate,
Torn from their native fields and sable loves,
Lamenting loud. The hard impending rocks
Their sighs re-echo, and the Agualta flows
In deeper murmurs. On the willow'd bank,
By Babylon's proud stream, thus Israel's sons
Bewail'd their captive doom, and Zion lost!

But see triumphant, through the gates of morn—
Not with meek roseate smile, and gentle step
Soft-stealing—but with ardent eye inflam'd,
Day's radiant god his burning axle whirls,
And unrelenting, o'er the scorched plains,
Leads the hot Hours. Quick from his piercing gaze

* The Ebo Negroes are the gentlest and mildest of all the nations of Africa. They never rise into rebellion; but often sink under a sense of their condition and destroy themselves

Shrinks the young Twilight, and affrighted seeks
Th' embowering grove, and mountain's western shade.

'Tis langour all! Wide o'er the sultry shore
The blazing torrent spreads: th' unruffled sea
Shines like fus'd silver; and the solar ray,
Thence fierce reflected, darts redoubled fire.
No kindly interposing cloud is seen;
No zephyr breathes. The stagnate air o'erpowers
Life's functions; and chill age, and ardent youth,
Oppress'd alike, invoke the lingering breeze.

He comes! he comes! the white crown'd wave afar,
The salutary power proclaims. And now,
(Heated and rarefied the eastern heavens,)
His parent sun he follows, and elate,
Leads o'er the laughing land his sportive train
Oh blow, delightful gales, and on your wings
Sweet coolness bring! So, from my airy bowers,
Shall bloated Febris fly: the Iberian vales
Her fit abode, where Cuba's slothful sons,
In woods ne'er open'd to the cheering ray,
Their languid hours drag on; forbidding thee,
Kind breeze, to enter: thee, best friend, to life!

Nature revives! The vivid ether flows
Pure, balmy, vigorous; to the sinking soul
Breathing elysium. Meantime Ocean smiles
And day's fierce tyrant pours, or seems to pour,
A milder radiance and a soften'd beam
Rejoicing in the gale, a lovelier green
Th' extended cane-field wears, and gently waves
Luxuriant. To the unpolluted ear
How musical, amid the verdant ranks,
The breeze soft whispering! Nor untuneful even

His mightier voice resounding, when the waves,
Driven by his breath, rage idly on the shore.

Yet days there are when unrelenting heat
Unconquer'd triumphs; when the healing breeze
Comes not, or, struggling, flags his weary wings
Oppress'd. Even now, your lone retreats, ye hills,
Once more I seek; your cool pure atmosphere
I drink, and live. Meantime the varied scene,
Awful and boundless, draws th' enchanted eye,
'Till wonder ends, in rapt devotion lost!

Regions of ancient glory, boast no more
Your cloud-crown'd summits! Where is now thy pride,
Fam'd Appenine? Girt with a triple zone
(Themselves a world) to Chili's southern bounds,
Stretch the vast Andes; with whose mighty crests
Compar'd, the Alpine heights, abash'd, sink down
Their heads, astonied; and old Etna shrouds
In smoke and murky flame his conscious shades.
Nor let presumptuous man, with bounded view,
Arraign the Mighty Maker, and misdeem,
Of wisdom infinite, that varied thus
The earth, and fix'd th' aspiring mound sublime!
Oh rashly impious! ye who deem th' Allwise
Hath form'd aught erring—from the Sovereign Hand
Snatch the dread sceptre, and, far wiser ye,
Sweep from th' astonish'd earth the Nubian hills,
And Tibet's heights remote; or, bolder still,
Bid Chimborazo * sink, or lo! (a name
Alone) Nilus and Ganges shall be sought
In vain, and wondrous Amazon no more
Monarch of floods, o'er leagues unnumber'd roll.

* The highest of the Andes.

For, from the boundless deep by the hot sun
Exhal'd, ere on the wings of mighty winds
Upborne, aloft th' aerial waters float
Expansive: by th' attractive hills condens'd,
The congregated vapours ponderous pour
Their liquid treasures, that would else, perchance,
Roam useless through the void, or haste uncheck'd
Back to their native sea, while the parch'd world
In unextinguishable thirst would burn.

Even when relentless o'er th' Atlantic isles
Drought lifts his iron hand (chief when the sun,
Turn'd towards the northern tropic, gives to blow,
With strength redoubled, the diurnal breeze,
While far aloof the spiry clouds are driven)
Even then, yon towering hills rise not in vain;
For still, at Heaven's command, the Deep unlocks
His unexhausted fountain, and his waves
Pour through the secret mazes of the earth.
In silent progress, permeates and ascends
The finer fluid—from th' abhorr'd embrace
Dissolv'd of pungent brine—till from the peak,
(That towers with loftier brow, as wider spreads
The subject continent) impetuous gush
The defecated waters: to the vale
Jocund they haste: the thirsty traveller hears,
Well pleas'd, their voice soft warbling: Earth, in exchange,
In lovelier verdure blooms: the liquid train
Bid soft fertility smile wide around,
And spring awaits them; 'till the deep recals
His truant offspring, and th' eternal round
Again propitious speeds So flows, in man,
The crimson fluid; from the heart propell'd,
Through tubes unnumber'd, to the heart again.

Now, while pale Phosphor scarce his glimmering lamp
Withdraws, and ere the short-liv'd twilight flies,

Wide o'er th' irriguous valley deep below,
See the dense vapours (that in day's proud reign
Inflated rise, and in the ambient air
Melt from th' imperfect sight,) by night's cold hand
Compress'd, still linger o'er their parent springs—
A wondrous scene! to fancy's plastic eye,
As if main ocean from his mound had broke,
The world o'erwhelming! nor reluctant!
Quit sleep's soft empire, and, descending prone,
Yield my parch'd bosom to the chill embrace;
For, pleas'd, th' inspiring hour Hygeia crowns,
And renovated Nature glad resumes
Her vernal charms, and pours forth all her sweets.
'Mid the deep wilderness, where spicy groves
Spontaneous rise, what grateful incense fills
Th' attemper'd atmosphere! Pimenta's* shades,
Rich with oppressive bliss, the sense o'erpower;
And Jasmin tendrils, with the Cyprian leaf,
(The consecrated myrtle) glad entwin'd,
Their milder balms diffuse. Nor, coy, denies
A brighter Flora to the opening dawn,
Her beauteous tribute: o'er the fragrant hedge,
Where the green Lime her sweet refreshment breathes,
Pride of the morn, in radiant beauty, blows
The crimson Sena†. To the soften'd skies,
Meantime, the varying Rose‡ (fair India's boast,)

* Jamaica pepper, or allspice. The botanic name is *caryophyllus*. Nothing can be more beautiful or delicious than a grove of these trees, which now grow spontaneously and in great abundance in the parishes of St. Ann and Trelawny. It is peculiar to Jamaica.

† The botanic name is *poinciana*. It is commonly known by the name of Barbadoes pride. Sir Hans Sloane calls it *sena spuria, arborea, mimosa*, or bastard sena, and it has nearly the same virtues as the *Alexandrine sena*, and resembles it in the pod. The flowers are transcendently beautiful, and make an elegant red syrup of a purgative quality, and the root affords a scarlet dye.

‡ Commonly called the China rose; but improperly. It is the *hibiscus mutabilis*, or changeable rose, of Linnæus. Early in the morning it is of a most perfect and beautiful white; about noon it assumes a rose colour; and becomes of a deep red at night, when it contracts and dies.

Spreads her chaste bosom in the lily's hue
Array'd: till, by the garish day oppress'd,
Her flowrets droop, and, deeply blushing, veil
Their virgin glories. Beauty's emblem this,
Our morning's wonder, and our evening's sigh *.

But transitory all!—Even while I gaze,
The vision flies. Chang'd is the vernal scene,
The cool, the shady; nor the balmy tribes,
Nor twilight's humid hand, can long thy rage
Omnipotent, solstitial heat, repel!
From the pierc'd vale th' incumbent vapours rise,
Into thin air diffus'd. The sultry blaze
Ascends all-conquering, and the mountains burn.
Yet, though the glorious god (emerging thus
In fierce effulgence) from the startled plains
Lifts the dense curtain, he unfolds to view
Far nobler scenes—thy triumph, Industry!
A verdant ocean see! Th' ambrosial cane
O'er many an acre spreads, till Ocean's self
Bounds the rich level, and exulting bears
The sail of commerce on his burnish'd breast.—
But thine the flowing charm, th' unbounded range,
Almighty nature—thine the woodland reign!
Even on the summit, by disparting clouds
Reveal'd, and cliffs sublime, the palm-tree† towers,
And stems of wondrous growth, sons of the zone,
To whom even Britain's oak diminish'd bends;
Th' immortal mastic, mammee's‡ graceful shaft,
And far-fam'd acajou§ spread deep around,

* A line from Young's Night Thoughts.

† The species of palm here meant is the palmeto-royal of Barbados, which, as Mr. Long observes, is one of the most beautiful trees in the world. Ligon mentions some, at the first settlement of Barbados, above two hundred feet in height; and Ray speaks of another two hundred and seventy feet; one hundred feet is a very common height.

‡ Bastard mammee, called by the Spaniards *Santa Maria*.

§ Mahogany.

Impenetrable umbrage. Ceiba* here
Extends his uncouth arms, and scatters wide
His silky down, yet yields yon mightier fig†
Pre-eminence meantime, Pomona showers—
Warm'd by the genial clime, unearthly showers—
Her choicest treasures, avocado mounts
Her marrowy pear uncropt, and tamarind sheds
Her racy pods, and mild banana droops.
Unnotic'd These, and others numberless,
Mock the proud infidel, and loud proclaim
Almighty goodness, boundless love divine!

But see, rejoicing in his strength, the sun
Mounts to meridian glory Fiercer yet
The broad refulgence spreads, till the wide heavens
Blaze one vast field of undulating fire.
Ye eastern skies unfold! ye breezes blow!
I pant I burn O spread thy world of shade,
Majestic cedar! Open all your springs,
Ye gelid fountains! Bring your gifts, ye powers
That o'er these gardens of the sun preside.

* The Spanish name of the wild cotton-tree, its botanical name is *bombax*

† This monarch of the woods, whose empire extends over Asia and Africa as well as the tropical parts of America, is described by our divine poet with great exactness

> The figtree, not that kind for fruit renown'd
> But such as at this day to Indians known
> In Malabar and Deccan, spreads her arms
> Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
> The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
> About the mother tree, *a pillar'd shade,*
> *High over arch'd, and echoing walks between*
>
> Paradise Lost, book IX.

It is called in the East Indies the *banyan tree* Mr Marsden gives the following account of the dimension of one near Marjee twenty miles west of Patna in Bengal diameter, three hundred and sixty three to five hundred and seventy five feet, circumference of shadow, at noon, one thousand one hundred and sixteen feet circumference of the several stems, in number fifty or sixty, nine hundred and twenty one feet Hist Sumatra, p 131.

The generous grape, the milky coco bring.
Or bid the lemon, and the pungent lime,
Their cooling beverage pour: my fainting soul
Imbibes the melting pulp, and tastes of heaven!

Offspring of heat, and countless as the stars
That beam resplendent round the throne of night,
Gay insect-tribes, ten thousand beauteous dyes
And orient colours waving, in the shine
Exulting sport. Their hum is harmony,
The voice perchance of gratitude to heaven;
How gently soothing, if the plaintive dove
Blend her mild melody! The general song
Lulls to soft slumber in the feverish hour.
Yet thin the plumy choir—for Nature, here
Content to lavish on the feather'd race
All beauty's radiance, gives to other climes
The tribes melodious: Philomel* alone—
Not her the queen of European groves,
Yet no mean rival—from the towering palm
Pours forth the note still varying: all the night,
Even as the Philomel of British shades,
She sings rejoicing. But afflictive heat,
Intensely ardent, to earth's centre now
Hath pierc'd, and animated nature all
Droops wearied; to the gloomiest covert haste
The plumy nations; him alone except,
Like the stern eagle solitary seen,
The ravening gallinazo.† On the wing
He dares th' unmitigated blaze, and towers
Aloft; thence with inexorable eye
To trace, on th' unfrequented shore remote,
The parent crocodile. Lo, this the hour
(The world reposing, as if midnight reign'd)

* The mock-bird, or American nightingale.
† The Turkey vulture, vulgarly called the carrion-crow.

She from the brackish stream, her cool retreat,
Creeps cautious; and by wondrous instinct led,
To earth's all-fostering bosom soft consigns
The vital shell. The general mother, pleas'd,
Receives th' incipient nature—soon to wake
The latent life. But see, th' insatiate fowl,
Thither descending prone, th' incumbent glebe
Explores, and riots on the embryo young.

Exhausted thus, whilst nature languid droops,
Me too, reclined amid the coco-grove,
Or where the interwoven plantain spreads
Her verdant canopy, let gentle sleep
Envelop, till the sultry hours are past.
The sportive zephyrs, rustling o'er my head,
Shall fan the undulating air, and soothe
My slumbers—to the paradise of dreams
My waking fancy waft. Ill-fated he,
The heedless wanderer on Asia's plains,
Whom treacherous sleep o'ertakes. Him, from her lair,
Marks the fell panther: as aghast he wakes,
On his scar'd visage full her flaming eyes
Are fix'd, while from her hollow breast she heaves,
Horrid and dreadful, the fate-boding sigh!
Nail'd by the fascinating glare, his limbs
Forget their functions, and supine he dies!

Far happier we, who, fenc'd by ocean, sleep
Secure in soft serenity, and wake,
As now, to gladness; for the heavens relent.
See, a mild tempering haze diffusive shades
The bright cerulean, as the radiant god
Impetuous hastens to th' Atlantic wave:
Yet, sinking, he dilates, and in his strength
Still glories. O'er the abdicated skies
Now gaily spread ten thousand golden forms

And gorgeous phantoms, empyrean flame
And worlds of fire. So, momentary glares
Thy gilded reign, Ambition; and, as night
Thus comes abrupt, Oblivion spreads her veil,
Shades thy proud triumphs, and shuts out the scene!
O ye soft gales, who in the train of night
Your downy pinions wave, who all the day
Repose amid the mountains' cool retreats,
Your course delay not! The diurnal breeze
Now slumbers on the tranquil wave exhaust:
Fan the still air, ye gales: with balmy breath
Inspire th' enliven'd functions! Now on high
Refulgent Venus and the starry train
Spangle the vivid hemisphere. Around,
Myriads of insect-meteors,* living lamps,
People the glittering air! A fairy world
I tread: a land of genii! Airy shapes,
Oft visible to contemplation's eye,
Roam in the midnight hour these sacred shades;
Nor unobserv'd while now the starry train
Burn with diminish'd lustre; for, behold,
The radiant moon bids meaner glories fade.
No cloud her course obscures, and high she towers,
Guiding in awful majesty through heaven
Her silver car, triumphant o'er the dark.

Sure 'tis illusion and enchantment all!
For still fond fancy, through the shadowy glade,
Sees visionary fleeting forms: still hears

* These are the fire-flies, which abound in the interior parts of the country, and to a stranger have a wonderful and singular appearance. They consist of different species, some of which emit a light, resembling a spark of fire, from a globular prominence near each eye; and others from their sides, in the act of respiration. They are far more luminous than the glow-worm, and fill the air on all sides, like so many living stars, to the astonishment and terror of a traveller unaccustomed to the country. In the day time they disappear.

Sounds more than human. Once a gentle race
Own'd these fair valleys. From the birth of time
These groves, these fountains, and these hills were theirs.
Perhaps e'en now their spirits delighted haunt
Their once-lov'd mansions. Oft the pensive muse
Recals, in tender thought, the mournful scene,
When the brave Incotel, from yonder rock,
His last sad blessing to a weeping train
Dying bequeath'd. "The hour," he said, "arrives,
By ancient sages to our sires foretold!
Fierce from the deep, with Heaven's own lightning arm'd,
The pallid nation comes! Blood marks their steps,
Man's agonies their sport, and man their prey!

"What piercing shrieks still vibrate on the ear!
Th' expiring mother lifts her feeble arm
In vain to shield her infant; the hot steel
Smokes with their mingled blood; and blooming youth,
And manly strength, and virgin beauty, meet
Alike th' untimely grave; till fell revenge
Is cloy'd and tir'd of slaughter. See, full gorg'd,
The vulture sickens o'er his waste of prey,
And, surfeit-swell'd, the reeking hound expires!

"Yet pause not, Spaniard! whet thy blunted steel;
Take thy full pastime in the field of blood!
But know, stern tyrant, retribution's hour
Ere long shall reach thee. Though this once-lov'd isle,
For crimes yet unatton'd, dread Zemi thus
To desolation and to death consigns,
And thou the instrument of wrath divine;
In yonder orb, now darken'd in his course,
Read thy own doom, more dreadful! With the slain,
The murderer falls! Th' oppressor and th' oppress'd
Mingle in dust together! Where are now
Thy blood-polluted glories? Ah! too late,

Learn, when avenging Heaven presumptuous guilt
Gives to its own fell purposes a prey,
More mark'd its fate, more terrible its fall!

" So perish the false triumphs and vain hopes
Of mad ambition, and remorseless pride,
That make weak man the murderer of man!
O my associates, dry those scalding tears!
One little moment, and we shall arrive
At those bless'd islands, where, from guilt refined
By sharp affliction, we no more shall feel
Death's torpid grasp, and agonizing pang!
There, with our lov'd forefathers, shall we rove
Through palmy shades; in limpid fountain bathe;
Repose in jasmin bowers at sultry noon;
And when cool evening tempers soft the air,
Unenvied gather, from his unprun'd bough,
The fragrant guovya*. On our cheeks no more
The burning tear shall linger; not a sigh
Swell the light bosom; but immortal joy
Fill every thought, and brighten every eye.
Meantime, those happy interdicted shores
Our blood stain'd foes shall seek; but seek in vain.
The hurricane shall rave, the thunder roll,
And ocean whelm them in his deepest tide,
Or leave transfix'd on the hard pointed rock,
The sport of howling winds. How shall we laugh
When the pale coward slaves we view remote,
Present th' uplifted hand, th' imploring eye,
To those their cruelty denied to breathe
Sweet native air! Their conscious groans shall fill
Our great revenge; our wondrous wrongs repay!"

* *Psodium fructicosum*, commonly called the guava. It grows spontaneously in all parts of the island, and to most people is a very agreeable fruit. P. Martyr relates, that it was in high esteem among the natives. The seeds are an excellent astringent medicine in fluxes.

INSCRIPTION

AT THE ENTRANCE OF

A BURIAL GROUND FOR NEGRO SLAVES.

On a plantation in Jamaica, belonging to Mr. Edwards, his negroes had chosen for their burial ground, a retired spot, in a grove of pimento or allspice. It was a place extremely solemn and singularly beautiful, and Mr. Edwards directed, that, in case of his death in Jamaica, he should be buried in the midst of them. As the ground was exposed to the intrusion of cattle, he caused a fence to be raised round it, and inscribed these lines on the little wicket at the entrance.

STRANGER! whoe'er thou art, with reverence tread,
Lo! these, the silent mansions of the dead!
His life of labour o'er, the wearied slave
Here finds, at length, soft quiet in the grave.
View not with proud disdain the unsculptured heap,
Where injured innocence forgets to weep,
Nor idly deem, although not here are found
The solemn aisle and consecrated ground,
The spot less sacred:—o'er the turf-built shrine,
Where Virtue sleeps, presides the Power Divine.

THE VOW.

O CLEAR that cruel, doubting brow,
I'll call on mighty Jove
To witness this eternal vow;—
'Tis you alone I love!

"Pray leave the god to soft repose,"
The smiling maid replies,
"For Jove but laughs at lovers' vows,
And lovers' perjuries."

'By honour'd Beauty's gentle power!
By Friendship's holy flame!'
"Ah! what is Beauty but a flower,
And Friendship but a name?"

"By those dear, tempting lips," I cried.
With arch, ambiguous look,
Convinced, my Chloe glanced aside,
And bade me *kiss the book.*

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THE END.

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